

Fund for the
Republic

WESTERN UNION
SENDING BLANK

MDV 1/17/64 Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters

Mr. Jesse Simons
American Arbitration Association
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Regret that due to illness I will be unable to attend
Tempa Conference.

H. J. Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1287—(2 4-55)

WESTERN UNION
SENDING BLANK

CALL LETTERS **MDV** 1/17/64 **Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters**

Mr. Elmer Brown, President
International Typographical Union
301 South Union Blvd.
P. O. Box 157
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Regret I am confined in Washington, D. C. due to illness
and will not be able to attend Tampa Conference.

H. J. Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD
(249—(X 4-55))

Telfax **WESTERN UNION** *Telfax* ↑
SENDING BLANK

FILE MESSAGE	MDV	1/17/64	MESSAGE TO	Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters
-----------------	-----	---------	---------------	--------------------------------

International Inn
Tampa, Florida

Please cancel my hotel reservation for January 18 and 19.

H. J. Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD
1249—(R 4-55)

January 13, 1964

Mr. Elmer Brown, President
International Typographical Union
301 South Union Blvd.
P. O. Box 157
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Dear Sir and Brother:

I have your letter of December 30, 1963 and I am
making arrangements to be at the International Inn
in Tempe on January 18th.

Looking forward to seeing you,

Fraternally yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to
the General President

HJG/alb



ELMER BROWN, PRESIDENT
JOHN J. PILCH, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
A. SANDY BERRY, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
JOE BAILEY, THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
WILLIAM R. CLOUD, SECRETARY-TREASURER

INTERNATIONAL

Typographical Union

301 SOUTH UNION BOULEVARD * P. O. BOX 137 * COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO. 80901

December 30, 1963

Mr. H. J. Gibbons, Exec. Vice-President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
Chauffeurs, Warehousemen & Helpers of America
2801 Trumbull Avenue
Detroit 16, Michigan

AIRMAIL

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

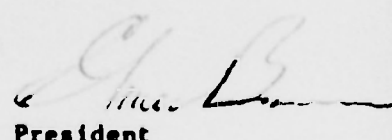
You have received notice from Mr. Simons, acting as coordinator for the second meeting of Publishers and Union Representatives to be held in Tampa, December 20, 21, 22, 1964.

In order to gain the most from these conferences, it would seem to me that the Union Representatives should come prepared to take a positive position on the items we suggested as points for the agenda at the second conference. Too, it would be advantageous for the Union Representatives to come together prior to the 20th to go over our preparations and endeavor to have a single submission on all points possible. We could perhaps accomplish more by such preparation and even have a paper on the subjects we wish to present.

If possible, we should be available to meet for a full day on the 18th or 19th of January. I would suggest the 18th, and if this is agreeable, we can assemble at the International Inn, in Tampa, on Saturday morning, 10 a.m. and perhaps finish our session early afternoon.

Looking forward to our meeting, I remain

Fraternally,


President

l:lra



american arbitration association

477 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
(AREA CODE 212) PLAZA 9-7900



January 13, 1964

officers

D. L. GARDNER JR.
Chairman of the Board

FLOYD W. JEFFERSON
Vice Chairman of the Board

FRANCIS H. HOBAN
Chairman, Executive Committee

HERMAN E. MILLER
Treasurer

WILLIAM B. STODOL
President

ROBERT L. GARDNER
Executive Vice President

Vice Presidents

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

JOHN F. GARDNER

Mr. Harold J. Gibbons, Executive Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Hal:

Attached please find list of those who are
attending the Tampa Conference.

I am looking forward to seeing you in
Tampa and I do hope that all of your reservations
have been made and that your flight will be a plea-
sant one.

Sincerely,

Jesse Simons

committee chairmen

WILLIAM B. STODOL
Arbitration - Law

JOHN F. GARDNER
Arbitration Practice

JOHN F. GARDNER
Budget

JOHN F. GARDNER
Commercial Arbitration

JOHN F. GARDNER
Development

JOHN F. GARDNER
Education

JOHN F. GARDNER
Finance

JOHN F. GARDNER
Planning

JOHN F. GARDNER
Public

JOHN F. GARDNER
Research

JOHN F. GARDNER
Statistics

JOHN F. GARDNER
Training

JOHN F. GARDNER
World Trade Arbitration

offices: Atlanta • Boston • Charlotte • Chicago • Cincinnati • Cleveland • Dallas • Denver • Detroit • Hartford
Los Angeles • New York • Pittsburgh • San Francisco • Seattle • Syracuse • Washington, D. C.

NEWSPAPERS

Mr. Miles P. Farrone, Chairman
American Newspaper Publishers Association

Mr. Eugene C. Bishop, President
Peninsula Newspapers Incorporated

Mr. William A. Dyer, Jr., Vice President &
General Manager
The Star and News

Mr. Harold F. Gramhaus, Vice President &
Business Manager
The Tribune

Mr. Frank S. McKinney, Vice President &
General Manager
The Times and Star

Mr. Robert C. Millar, President & General Manager
The Times-Union and Journal

Mr. Anton F. Peterson, Vice President &
General Manager
The Tribune and Deseret News

Mr. William Davis Taylor, Publisher & General Manager
The Globe

Mr. Gene Robb, Publisher
Albany Times Union

Mr. Max Meyer, Vice President & Business Manager
World Telegram & Sun

NEWSPAPERS (CONT'D)

Mr. Paul Miller, President of Gannett Company, Inc.
Editor-Rochester Times-Union

Mr. C. Raymond Hulsart, Industrial Relations Director
The New York Times

Mr. Walter N. Thayer, President
New York Herald Tribune

Mr. Walter K. Grahsm, Director of Industrial Relations
The News

Mr. Gerald W. Siegal, Vice President
Washington Post

Mr. Russ Stewart, Executive Vice President
Chicago Sun-Times

Miss Joyce Swan, Executive Vice President
Minneapolis Tribune-Star

Mr. Irwin Maier, President
Milwaukee Journal

Mr. Charles DeYoung Thieriot, President & Publisher
San Francisco Chronicle

Mr. Bernard Ridder, Publisher
St. Paul Dispatch

Mr. Roger P. Talmadge, Treasurer
Boston Herald Traveler

Mr. Thomas V. H. Vail, Vice President & Publisher
Cleveland Plain Dealer

NEWSPAPERS (CONT'D)

Mr. Peter Clark, Vice President
Detroit News

Mr. David R. Bradley, Publisher
The Gazette & News Press

Mr. Fred Rowden, Business Manager
St. Louis Post Dispatch

Miss Eleanor McClatchy, President
McClatchy Newspapers

UNION PRESIDENTS

Mr. Elmer Brown, President
International Typographical Union

Mr. Joseph Bailey, Vice President
International Typographical Union

Mr. Anthony J. DeAndrade, President
International Printing Pressmen & Assistants
Union of North America

Mr. A. J. Rohan, Vice President
International Printing Pressmen & Assistants
Union of North America

UNION PRESIDENTS (CONT'D)

Mr. James H. Sampson, President
International Stereotyper & Electrotypers Union
of North America

Mr. F. G. Creamer, Secretary-Treasurer
International Stereotyper & Electrotypers Union
of North America

Mr. Charles A. Perlik, Jr., Secretary-Treasurer
American Newspaper Guild

Mr. J. W. Blatz, Director of Collective Bargaining
American Newspaper Guild

Mr. William J. Hall, President
International Photo-engravers Union

Mr. Daniel A. Streeter, Jr., Vice President
International Photo-engravers Union

Mr. Harold J. Gibbons, Executive Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters

american arbitration association

677 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
(AREA CODE 212) PLAZA 9-7900



January 2, 1964

officers

A. LAMAR DAYTON JR.
Chairman of the Board
FLOYD W. MILLER
Vice Chairman of the Board
FRANK H. COOPER
Chairman, Executive Committee

HERMAN E. MULLER
Treasurer

JOHN E. STONE
President

ROBERT COULSON
Executive Vice President

Vice Presidents
MARTIN DORR

JOSEPH S. MORPHY

JOHN P. E. BROWN

MORRIS STONE

GERALD ARSEN
General Counsel

EDWIN W. DUFFOLD
Secretary

committee chairmen

WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR
Arbitration Law

HENRY CLIFTON, JR.
Arbitration Practice

MAURICE E. PELDRETT
Budget

S. WHITNEY LARSON
Commercial Arbitration

HAROLD F. SHEDDY
Development

DAVID L. COLE
Education

ARTHUR C. CROFT
Planning

STEVEN GOTTMAN
World Trade Arbitration

Mr. Harold J. Gibbons, Executive
Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Hal:

You will find attached a copy of the Publisher's agenda items for the Tampa conference. These five items plus the three the Unions have already put forward will be the basis for the joint discussions January 20 through 23, 1964.

As was the case at Santa Barbara, there will be a dinner Sunday evening of a small committee representing the unions and the publishers with the neutrals to give final form to the agenda.

I am pleased to learn that in the interests of maximizing the results of the Tampa discussion the unions already see the value of advance preparation. Working out on paper your own proposals and presenting them to your union associates cannot help but produce greater clarity, and, in some instances, possibly consensus in the union group.

You may be interested to know that the publishers are devoting themselves to preparing for the January conference to an even greater extent than they did for the Santa Barbara conference.

On the 10th of January, I hope to mail you a second working paper which, in effect, will update the paper I prepared for the Santa Barbara conference.

May I take this occasion to express my best wishes for the New Year. I look forward to seeing you in Tampa later this month.

Sincerely yours,

James Simons
James Simons

enc.

offices: Atlanta • Charlotte • Chicago • Cleveland • Dallas • Denver • Detroit • Hartford
Los Angeles • New York • Pittsburgh • San Francisco • Seattle • Syracuse • Washington, D. C.

Agenda of Newspaper Publishers
for
Iampe Labor Relations Conference

- I. At the Santa Barbara Conference between international union officers and various publishers it was suggested by both parties that some steps must be taken to improve the process of local collective bargaining in order to bring about a greater degree of mutual respect and confidence between the parties.
 - A. What specific suggestions do publishers and unions have relating to this problem?
- II. Several suggestions have been made about the possibility of extension of industry-wide voluntary arbitration agreements as a means of avoiding strikes or lockouts when normal collective bargaining fails to achieve acceptable agreements between the parties.
 - A. Are such agreements desirable and, if so, would they be effective to insure peaceful settlement of labor disputes in the newspaper business?
- III. It has been suggested that there be created an industrial tribunal for arbitration of jurisdictional disputes between various craft unions in the newspaper publishing business.
 - A. Would this be desirable?
 - B. What benefits would be gained?
 - C. What disadvantages would ensue to unions and publishers?
- IV. Union International Officers have mentioned their interest in working with newspaper publishers to preserve the economic health of the business and to strengthen the newspaper position within the competitive field of communications.
 - A. What realistic and specific proposal can best be employed to achieve these goals?

* * *

Fund For the Republic -
Newspaper Publishing
Conference

January 13, 1964

International Inn
Tampa, Florida

Gentleman:

Please reserve a room for me for arrival late January 17th
and departure on Sunday, January 19th.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Vice President

HJG/alb

Jan 20-21-22
Tampa

December 17, 1963

Mr. Jesse Simons
American Arbitration Association
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Simons:

Thank you for your letter of November 29, 1963.
I shall be happy to accept your invitation to
participate in the proposed Tampa Conference
dealing with the continuation of the Santa Barbara
Conference between newspaper executives and
the various International union officers.

Please let me know what part of the cost of this
conference that our International will be expected
to assume and I will be happy to forward you a check.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to
the General President

HJC/alb

american arbitration association

477 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
(AREA CODE 212) PLAZA 9-7900



November 29, 1963

officers

ELBERT HAYES II

Chairman of the Board

FLOYD W. JEFFERSON

NICHOLAS KELLEY

Vice Chairman of the Board

EDWARD H. HOGAN

Chairman, Education Committee

WILLIAM F. HULLER

Treasurer

DONALD S. STRAUSS

President

ROBERT COULSON

Executive Vice President

Vice Presidents

MARTIN J. MOORE

JOSEPH L. MURPHY

JOHN P. L. BROWN

ROBERT L. TONE

EDWARD J. MOORE

Secretary

EDWIN W. DUFFOLD

Secretary

committee chairmen

WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR

Arbitration Law

HENRY CLIFTON, JR.

Arbitration Practice

MAURICE E. PELLOURET

Budget

S. WHITNEY LONDON

Commercial Arbitration

HAROLD F. SHEDDY

Development

BRAYNE OXON

Education

DAVID L. COLE

Public

ROBERT L. COLE

Planning

EDWIN W. DUFFOLD

Public Relations

Mr. Harold J. Gibbons
Executive Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

On the last day of the September Santa Barbara conference of newspaper executives and international union officers, both parties expressed the desire to continue the discussions they had just concluded.

In October, International Typographical Union President Elmer Brown, speaking for his union colleagues, wrote to all the Santa Barbara participants urging that steps be taken to convene a second labor-management conference, that such conference be under neutral auspices, and requesting that the undersigned handle details of such second conference.

On November 12, Messrs. Irvin Miller, Gene Robb, Raymond Hulsart, J. A. Swan, Elmer Brown, A. J. DeAndrade and myself met in New York to discuss the second conference. At this meeting the following was agreed:

1. That a second newspaper industry labor-management conference take place in Florida in January, similar to the one that was held in Santa Barbara in September.
2. That it be chaired by Dr. Clark Kerr in association with Messrs. David Cole, Ted Kheel and Sam Kagle.
3. That the agenda remain open, awaiting receipt of the publishers agenda points.
4. That the same ground rules agreed to at Santa Barbara be in effect at this forthcoming conference, namely, that the discussions be off-the-record and without attribution; that no reference be made of the proceedings in future arbitrations.

offices: Atlanta • Boston • ~~Cambridge~~ • Chicago • Cincinnati • Cleveland • Dallas • Denver • Detroit • Hartford
Los Angeles • New York • ~~Pittsburgh~~ • Pittsburgh • San Francisco • Seattle • Syracuse • Washington, D. C.

November 29, 1963

or negotiations; and, finally, that no pre- or post-conference public statements evaluating or describing the proceedings be issued by anyone other than that issued by the parties jointly.

5. That the Tampa conference be sponsored by the American Arbitration Association and that the undersigned handle arrangements including updating of the original Working Paper.

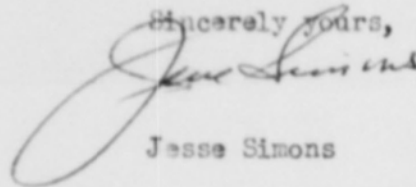
6. That all Senate Barbers participants be invited; and that in addition the newspaper executives now serving on the American Newspaper Publishers Association Standing Committee also be invited to attend, representing their respective newspapers.

7. That the total expenses including fees and administrative costs of the conference, estimated at \$10,000, be divided equally among the 6 unions and 25 to 30 publishers in attendance.

In behalf of the American Arbitration Association as the sponsoring organization, and in behalf of Dr. Clark Kerr and the four neutrals, your participation in the second newspaper labor-management conference is requested. It will start on January 20th at 9:30 a.m. and continue through January 21st and 22nd and will take place at the International Inn, Tampa, Florida.

May I hear from you promptly as to whether you are planning to attend the Tampa conference. Please note that Hotel and Airline reservations are to be made directly by each conferee. Because the conference will occur during the busy season reservations should be made without delay. Enclosed for your convenience is a brochure of the International Inn.

Sincerely yours,



Jesse Simons

JS:ch

Enclosure

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE *File*

Fund for the Republic

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California — W Oudland 9-3281

San Francisco Office:
P.O. Box #2730
San Francisco 26, Calif.

New York Office

133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York — PL 222 3-1340

January 10, 1964

Mr. Harold Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Hal:

I am writing to you both in Washington and St. Louis since I don't know where you are spending your time at the moment.

I assume that you will be attending the Tampa meeting of the unions and newspaper publishers and I wanted you to know that the reason I am not coming is because a couple of the publishers object to either my presence or that of anyone else from the Center presumably because we are too controversial. As you can imagine, I am more than a little mad about it. Kerr has already raised the issue, as has Cole, and some of the union people who have written me about it. I expect that both Kerr and Cole will bring the matter up at the meeting expressing their displeasure about the incident. Knowing you, I assume you will not hesitate in saying what you feel.

All the best. And I am looking forward to seeing you some place soon where we can talk.

Cordially,

Paul
Paul Jacobs

PJ:fs

c/c: Mailed to Joint Council
Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters
1641 S. Kings Highway
St. Louis 10, Mo.

american arbitration association

477 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
(AREA CODE 212) PLAZA 9-7000



ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

*Send for the Republic -
Newspaper Publishing
Conference*

October 31, 1963

officers

G. (Sam) GILMAN, JR.
Chairman of the Board
FLOYD W. JEFFERSON
NICHOLAS KELLEY
Vice Chairman of the Board
FRANK J. HOGAN
Chairman, Executive Committee

HERMAN E. MULLER
Treasurer

DONALD D. STORUS
President

JOHN P. S. SUTHERLAND
Executive Vice President

Vice Presidents
MARTIN DOWKE

JOHN P. S. SUTHERLAND

JOHN P. E. BROWN

MORRIS STONE

GAROLD AUSTIN
Council

EDWIN W. DIPPOLD
Secretary

committee chairmen

ROBERT HODGE BAYHUR
Arbitration Law

HENRY CLISTON, JR.
Arbitration Practice

MAURICE E. PELLORET
Budget

S. WHITNEY LARSON
Commercial Arbitration

HAROLD F. UNIDY
Development

DAYNE ORTON
Education

DAVID L. COLE
Pamphlets

ARTHUR E. CROFT
Planning

STEVEN GOTSCHAL
World Trade Arbitration

Hsl,
Dear Mr. Gilman:

Attached please find copy of my letter to
ITU President Brown.

Your comments would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Jesse
Jesse Simons

JS/mln

*When am I going to
hear from you?*

offices: Atlanta • Boston • Charlotte • Chicago • Cincinnati • Cleveland • Dallas • Denver • Detroit • Hartford
Los Angeles • New York • Philadelphia • Pittsburgh • San Francisco • Seattle • Syracuse • Washington, D. C.

american arbitration association

477 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
(AREA CODE 212) PLAZA 9-7900



October 31, 1963

officers

J. GRANT WATSON, JR.
Chairman of the Board
FLOYD W. JEFFERSON
NICHOLAS STONE
Vice Chairman of the Board
FRANCIS W. HOBAN
Chairman, Executive Committee
HERMAN E. MULLER
Treasurer

WILLIAM B. STONE
President
ROBERT COULSON
Executive Vice President

Vice Presidents
WILLIAM B. STONE
JOSEPH S. MURPHY
JOHN P. J. BROWN
WILLIAM B. STONE
GERALD ARSEN
Counsel
WILLIAM B. STONE
Secretary

committee chairmen

WILLIAM B. STONE
Arbitration Law
HENRY CLYDE, JR.
Arbitration Practice
MAURICE E. FELDREY
Budget
J. WHITNEY LONDON
Commercial Arbitration
HAROLD F. SHUBB
Development
THEODORE DITON
Education
DAVID L. COLE
Finance
ARTHUR C. CROFT
Planning
WILLIAM B. STONE
Public Policy Arbitration

Mr. Elmer Brown, President
International Typographical Union
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Dear Mr. Brown:

Thank you for a copy of your recent letter addressed to the participants in the September Santa Barbara Conference, regarding a second conference of key union and industry spokesmen.

I would be pleased to be of assistance in arranging the next conference. I will undertake to attempt to arrange for a luncheon meeting of yourself and Mr. DeAndrade when you are both in New York City attending the AFL-CIO Conference with two or three key publisher representatives, including, I hope, Irvin Faler, who I will be in touch with on Monday upon his return from Nassau. The purpose of such luncheon meeting would be to lay plans for a second joint meeting. At that meeting I would be prepared to suggest a date and some possible places for the conference you have in mind.

As you will note from the stationery, I am now associated with the American Arbitration Association. My assignment consists of setting up and directing a new, different and separate service of the Association. It will consist of offering to labor and management generally assistance similar to that rendered by the Fund in connection with the Santa Barbara Conference.

This new Association activity will eventually have guidance from some of the nation's most distinguished neutrals. In addition, they will be occasionally available as chairmen of tripartite conferences. Among this group are Dr. Clark Kerr, David Cole and Theodore D. Kheel.

Offices: Atlanta - Boston - Charlotte - Chicago - Cincinnati - Cleveland - Dallas - Denver - Detroit - Hartford

- 2 -

If this new activity is set up and operating, and if the union and the newspaper management representatives desire that their next conference be sponsored by it, the A.A.A. has indicated to me that it would be prepared to help.

On the other hand, should you desire my services on a personal basis, my arrangements with the American Arbitration Association are such as to permit me to accept.

As in the case of the Santa Barbara Conference, the parties would share all the costs on a pro-rata basis and would cover all their own expenses. The neutrals at Santa Barbara contributed all their own expenses. In the forthcoming conference their expenses and fees would be covered by the parties.

I have taken the liberty of sending a copy of my letter to all the Santa Barbara participants in the interest of expediting this matter. I have taken the further liberty of informally contacting Messrs. Kerr, Cole and Kneel. Should both parties desire their aid, it should prove possible to arrange, irrespective of whether the next conference is sponsored by the A.A.A. or whether the details are handled by me.

I look forward to meeting with you and Mr. DeAndrade some time after the 8th of November.

Sincerely,

Jesse Simons

JS/min

cc: All Participants of
Santa Barbara Conference

RECEIVED
MAY 8 1954
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Office of the General President

To:

From:

11/12/64

DATE

Fund for the Republic 1 Santa Barbara Conf.

RE: Letter to Pres. Elmer Brown

HJG

10/21/63

9-20-63
3 pgs no date
10-9-63
10-18-63

The above file has not been returned for filing as of 11/12/64

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN &
ASSISTANTS' UNION of NORTH AMERICA

HEADQUARTERS PRESSMEN'S HOME, TENNESSEE

ANTHONY J. DeANDRADE
PRESIDENT



A PROGRESSIVE AND HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATION
OFFERING SERVICE AND PROTECTION TO WORKERS
IN THE PRINTING AND PAPER PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES
OF NORTH AMERICA. OPERATING A TECHNICAL TRADE
SCHOOL, THE AMERICAN PRESSMAN AND
THE SPECIALTY WORKER

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Send for the Republic -
Newspaper Publishing
Conference

October 18, 1963

Mr. H. J. Gibbons, Executive Vice-Pres.
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Harold:

This will acknowledge receipt of copy of your letter of
October 9 to President Brown of the ITU with attached copy
of draft of communication which you recommend should be
sent by him to all the individual publishers who attended
the Santa Barbara conference.

I whole-heartedly endorse this draft. It is well-done and
I certainly hope that President Brown will send it quickly
to all the publishers who were in attendance at the
conference.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Anthony J. DeAndrade
President

AJD-dw

October 9, 1963

Mr. Elmer Brown, President
International Typographical Union
301 South Union Boulevard
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Dear Brother Brown:

Thank you for your note of September 30. I am considering if the suggested draft of the communication which I am enclosing should be sent to all the individual publishers who attended the Santa Barbara conference.

Basically, it is a reiteration of what you said orally to each of them in the closing minutes of our conference. However, it seems to me, first, that such a written verification of your remarks is in order, and secondly, it may well help to urge the publishers to a quicker response and not permit the enthusiasm to flitter away.

Because of the importance of this subject, I am taking the liberty of forwarding copies of this communication to all of the trade associations who were present at that meeting.

Fraternally yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Vice President

HJG:js
Enclosure

cc: James H. Simpson
Anthony J. DeAndrade
William J. Ferson
William J. Hall
(all w/enc1)
see: Clerk Kerr
Robert H. Hutchins
Paul Jacobs
James Simon
(all w/enc1)

Dear Mr. _____:

I believe that I am speaking for all of my union colleagues when I say that we found that the Santa Barbara Conference exceeded our modest expectations. We believe that the frankness of the discussions and the numerous expressions of management's deeply serious intent to jointly explore with us our collective bargaining problems until mutually satisfactory solutions are found, augurs well for the future. We are confident that our posture evidenced a similar attitude.

Because no record was kept of our sessions, and with the earnest desire to expedite continuation of our discussions, I would like to refresh your recollection regarding the remarks I made speaking on behalf of all the Unions present. I suggested:

1. That it is vital to the industry's well being and security that there be continuation of the discussions so well begun the previous three days.
2. That the next discussion should be held within three weeks, preferably under neutral auspices, either in the form of a Newspaper Automation Institute, to be created jointly by the parties, or under the sponsorship of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Is

Page 3.

either case, there ought to be the assignment to one person of responsibility for keeping track of loose ends and to keeping alive the spirit engendered at Santa Barbara.

3. That the Unions propose three points for the Agenda of the next Publisher-Union Conference, namely:

A. Present and future legislation affecting collective bargaining;

B. Union security;

C. Automation and job security.

4. That the above agenda points were presented so that the Publishers could have ample opportunity to consider them before our next meeting; and that it is our expectation that the Publishers would have agenda items which we could have in advance so that we could also come prepared to our next meeting.

We believe that an important initiative has been created. We further believe that all of us, Publishers and Unions alike, could be disadvantaged should we permit this committee to be vitiated. We are informed that the Publisher representatives who were at Santa Barbara have been discussing

Page 3.

and evaluating among themselves the concrete proposals we made, and the entire three days of joint discussions.

Because of our desire to assure that no break occurs in our discussions, and because we are under the impression that you feel similarly, the mechanics of arranging our second Conference are considerable, as are seeing Mr. Jesse Simon, in association with one or two other neutrals to take the necessary steps to bring us together in Chicago some time in the middle of December.

Sincerely yours,

October 9, 1963

Mr. Elmer Brown, President
International Typographical Union
361 South Union Boulevard
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Dear Brother Brown:

Thank you for your note of September 30. I am wondering if the suggested draft of the communication which I am enclosing should be sent to all the individual publishers who attended the Santa Barbara conference.

Basically, it is a reiteration of what you said orally to each of them in the closing minutes of our conference. However, it seems to me, first, that such a written verification of your remarks is in order, and secondly, it may well help to urge the publishers to a quicker response and not permit the enthusiasm to flitter away.

Because of the importance of this subject, I am taking the liberty of forwarding copies of this communication to all of the trade unionists who were present at that meeting.

Praternally yours,

M. J. Gibbons
Executive Vice President

EJG:ja
Enclosure

cc: James H. Sampson
Anthony J. DaAndrade
William J. Farnum
William J. Hall
(all w/encl)
bcc: Clark Kerr
Robert M. Hutchins
Paul Jacobs
Jesse Simons
(all w/encl)

Dear Mr. _____:

I believe that I am speaking for all of my union colleagues when I say that we found that the Santa Barbara Conference exceeded our modest expectations. We believe that the freshness of the discussions and the generous expressions of management's deeply serious intent to jointly explore with us our collective bargaining problems until mutually satisfactory solutions are found, augurs well for the future. We are confident that our posture evidenced a similar attitude.

Because no record was kept of our sessions, and with the earnest desire to expedite continuation of our discussions, I would like to refresh your recollection regarding the remarks I made speaking on behalf of all the Unions present. I suggested:

1. That it is vital to the industry's well being and security that there be continuation of the discussions so well begun the previous three days.
2. That the next discussion should be held within three months, preferably under neutral auspices, either in the form of a Newspaper Association Institute, to be created jointly by the parties, or under the sponsorship of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. In

Page 2.

either case, there ought to be the assignment to one person of responsibility for keeping track of loose ends and to keeping alive the spirit engendered at Santa Barbara.

3. That the Unions propose three points for the Agenda of the next Publisher-Union Conference, namely:

- A. Present and future legislation affecting collective bargaining;
- B. Union security;
- C. Automation and job security.

4. That the above agenda points were presented so that the Publishers would have ample opportunity to consider these before our next meeting; and that it is our expectation that the Publishers would have agenda items which we would have in advance so that we could also come prepared to our next meeting.

We believe that an important initiative has been created. We further believe that all of us, Publishers and Unions alike, would be disadvantaged should we permit this momentum to be vitiated. We are informed that the Publisher representatives who were at Santa Barbara have been discussing

Page 3.

and evaluating among themselves the concrete proposals we made, and the entire three days of joint discussions.

Because of our desire to assure that no break occurs in our discussions, and because we are under the impression that you feel similarly, the mechanics of arranging our second Conference are considerable, we are asking Mr. Jesse Simoe, in association with one or two other assistants to take the necessary steps to bring us together in Chicago some time in the middle of December.

Sincerely yours,

October 9, 1963

Mr. Elmer Brown, President
International Typographical Union
361 South Union Boulevard
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Dear Brother Brown:

Thank you for your note of September 30. I am wondering if the suggested draft of the communication which I am enclosing should be sent to all the individual publishers who attended the Santa Barbara conference.

Basically, it is a reiteration of what you said orally to each of them in the closing minutes of our conference. Moreover, it seems to me, first, that such a written verification of your remarks is in order, and secondly, it may well help to save the publishers to a quicker response and not permit the antitheses to flitter away.

Because of the importance of this subject, I am taking the liberty of forwarding copies of this communication to all of the trade unions who were present at that meeting.

Fraternally yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Vice President

HJG:js
Enclosure

cc: James H. Seapoon
Anthony J. DeAndrade
William J. Faroux
William J. Hall
(all w/encl)

bcc: Clark Kerr
Robert M. Hutchins
Paul Jacobs
Jesse Simons
(all w/encl)

Dear Mr. _____:

I believe that I am speaking for all of my union colleagues when I say that we found that the Santa Barbara Conference exceeded our modest expectations. We believe that the frankness of the discussions and the numerous expressions of management's deeply serious intent to jointly explore with us our collective bargaining problems until mutually satisfactory solutions are found, augurs well for the future. We are confident that our posture evidenced a similar attitude.

Because no record was kept of our sessions, and with the earnest desire to expedite continuation of our discussions, I would like to refresh your recollection regarding the remarks I made speaking on behalf of all the Unions present. I suggested:

1. That it is vital to the industry's well being and security that there be continuation of the discussions so well begun the previous three days.
2. That the next discussion should be held within three weeks, preferably under neutral auspices, either in the form of a Newspaper Automation Institute, to be created jointly by the parties, or under the sponsorship of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. In

Page 2.

either case, there ought to be the assignment to one person of responsibility for keeping track of loose ends and to keeping alive the spirit engendered at Santa Barbara.

3. That the Unions propose three points for the Agenda of the next Publisher-Union Conference, namely:

- A. Present and future legislation effecting collective bargaining;
- B. Union security,
- C. Automation and job security.

4. That the above agenda points were presented so that the Publishers would have ample opportunity to consider them before our next meeting, and that it is our expectation that the Publishers would have agenda items which we would have in advance so that we could also come prepared to our next meeting.

We believe that an important initiative has been created. We further believe that all of us, Publishers and Unions alike, would be disadvantaged should we permit this momentum to be vitiated. We are informed that the Publisher representatives who were at Santa Barbara have been discussing

Page 3.

and evaluating among themselves the concrete proposals as made, and the entire three days of joint discussions.

Because of our desire to assure that no break occurs in our discussions, and because we are under the impression that you feel similarly, the mechanics of arranging our second Conference are considerable, so are asking Mr. James Simon, in association with one or two other neutrals to take the necessary steps to bring us together in Chicago some time in the middle of December.

Sincerely yours,

September 20, 1963

Mr. Elmer Brown, President
International Typographical Union
2820 North Meridian Street
Indianapolis 6, Indiana

Dear Brother Brown:

I was happy to make your acquaintance during
the recent meeting at Santa Barbara.

Frankly, I admired the diplomacy and tact which
characterized your relationship with the other printing trade
crafts. I have a little knowledge of the difficulties the printing
trades organization have been going through recently on matters
such as jurisdiction.

I am looking forward to seeing you at future sessions
of this group.

Faternally yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG /yh

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Fund for the Republic

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California — Woodland 9-3281

Reply To: New York Office

133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York — PLaza 3-1340

October 11, 1963

Mr. Harold Gibbins
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
Washington, D. C.

Dear Hal:

I'm planning on being in Washington on Friday,
November 1st and I would like to see Hoffa if
possible.

I will call you when I get back from London,
on the 31st of October.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Jacobs

Paul Jacobs

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California — Woodland 9-3281

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fund for the Republic
X

133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York — PLaza 3-1340
New York Office

October 11, 1963

Mr. H.J. Gibbons
Executive Vice President
International Brotherhood
of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Hal:

Thanks for keeping the pot boiling.
Let me know what happens.

Sincerely yours,

Bob
Robert M. Hutchins
President

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

*Fund for the Republic -
Newspaper Publishing
Conference*

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California — WOODLAND 9-1281

San Francisco Office:
P.O. Box #2730
San Francisco 26,
California

New York Office

133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York — PLaza 3-1340

October 11, 1963

Mr. Harold Gibbons
Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the copy of your
letter and memorandum of October 9th to Elmer Brown.

Paul Jacobs will be out of the country for the next
three weeks. Upon his return, I will bring this to
his attention.

Sincerely,

Frances Strauss
Frances Strauss
Secretary to Paul Jacobs

October 9, 1963

Mr. Elmer Brown, President
International Typographical Union
301 South Union Boulevard
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Dear Brother Brown:

Thank you for your note of September 30. I am wondering if the suggested draft of the communication which I am enclosing should be sent to all the individual publishers who attended the Santa Barbara conference.

Basically, it is a reiteration of what you said orally to each of these in the closing minutes of our conference. However, it seems to me, first, that such a written verification of your remarks is in order, and secondly, it may well help to move the publishers to a quicker response and not permit the enthusiasm to flitter away.

Because of the importance of this subject, I am taking the liberty of forwarding copies of this communication to all of the trade unionists who were present at that meeting.

Fraternaly yours,

M. J. Gibbons
Executive Vice President

MJG:js
Enclosure

cc: Jesse H. Simpson
Anthony J. DeAndrade
Willie J. Ferson
Willie J. Hall
(all w/encl)
bcc: Clark Kerr
Robert H. Hatchins
Paul Jacobs
Jesse Gibbons
(all w/encl)

Dear Mr. _____:

I believe that I am speaking for all of my union colleagues when I say that we found that the Santa Barbara Conference exceeded our modest expectations. We believe that the frankness of the discussions and the numerous expressions of management's deeply serious intent to jointly explore with us our collective bargaining problems until mutually satisfactory solutions are found, augurs well for the future. We are confident that our posture evidenced a similar attitude.

Because no record was kept of our sessions, and with the sincerest desire to expedite continuation of our discussions, I would like to refresh your recollection regarding the remarks I made speaking on behalf of all the Union present. I suggested:

1. That it is vital to the industry's well being and security that there be continuation of the discussions so well begun the previous three days.
2. That the next discussion should be held within three weeks, preferably under neutral auspices, either in the form of a Newspaper Automation Institute, to be created jointly by the parties, or under the sponsorship of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. In

Page 2.

either case, there ought to be the assignment to one person of responsibility for keeping track of loose ends and to keeping alive the spirit engendered at Santa Barbara.

3. That the Unions propose three points for the Agenda of the next Publisher-Union Conference, namely:

- A. Present and future legislation affecting collective bargaining;
- B. Union security;
- C. Automation and job security.

4. That the above agenda points were presented so that the Publishers would have ample opportunity to consider them before our next meeting; and that it is our expectation that the Publishers would have agenda items which we would have in advance so that we could also come prepared to our next meeting.

We believe that an important initiative has been created. We further believe that all of us, Publishers and Unions alike, would be disadvantaged should we permit this momentum to be vitiated. We are informed that the Publisher representatives who were at Santa Barbara have been discussing

Page 3.

and evaluating among themselves the concrete proposals we made, and the entire three days of joint discussions.

Because of our desire to assure that no break occurs in our discussions, and because we are under the impression that you feel similarly, the mechanics of arranging our second Conference are considerable, we are asking Mr. Jesse Sisco, in association with one or two other neutrals to take the necessary steps to bring us together in Chicago some time in the middle of December.

Sincerely yours,

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fund for the Republic
X Contributions
X Hutchins, Robert M.

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Box 2068, Santa Barbara, California — Woodland 9-1281

New York Office

San Francisco Office: 111 East 64th Street, New York 22, New York — PL 22 3 1340
P.O. Box #2730
San Francisco 26, Calif.

October 9, 1963

Mr. Harold Gibbons
Executive Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Ave., N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Hal:

You remember our conversation with Bob Hutchins about the possibility of getting money from the Teamsters for the Center. I would like to talk to Jimmy informally about this before we try to make any formal arrangements as to who should meet with him and Hutchins.

I thought I could do this on my way to Europe and the Middle East, but I have had to change my schedule and am leaving here tonight, which means I will not have time for a trip to Washington until I get back, in about three weeks.

I will contact you as soon as I do get back into the country.

Best regards,

Paul Jacobs

PJ:fs

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California — WOODLAND 9-3281

San Francisco Office:
P.O. Box #2730
San Francisco 26, Calif.
WA 2-2909

133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York — PLaza 3-1340

September 27, 1963

Mr. Harold Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Ave., N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Hal:

I called Connie and made arrangements for one of our people to see her in Los Angeles. She is going to let me know about her European plans and I'll try to help out.

As you can imagine, I'll be interested in hearing what happens with any further meetings of the union group and also how the plan to have the Center play a role develops.

I still am not sure whether I'll be in Washington on my way to Europe, or go directly from here, but I will keep you informed.

I ran into Jimmy in the lobby of the Fairmont Wednesday night. He seemed quite ebullient notwithstanding the presence in the lobby of 2000 assorted U.S. Supreme Court Justices, State Supreme Court Justices, U.S. Attorneys, and plain attorneys.

It was good to see you.

All the best,

Paul Jacobs

PJ:fs

. TS 4 8. 63

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fund for Public Information
Public Information
X

FUND FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION
Cathedral Station, P.O. Box 449,
New York 25, N. Y.

Dr. Cakley C. Johnson
Executive Secretary

Dear Friend:

The accompanying pamphlet is being sent to you by the Fund for Public Information. This is a non-profit organization supported by voluntary contributions. Its purpose is to make available literature expressing certain minority viewpoints to which the press, radio, television and other mass media are largely or wholly closed.

In distributing such literature, it is not our purpose to advocate any specific viewpoint. We seek only to provide people, of whatever views, with the opportunity to read or hear all sides and to make their judgment accordingly.

This pamphlet is, of course, sent without obligation to you. If, however, you should wish to assist the Fund by defraying its cost, this would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Cakley C. Johnson

Cakley C. Johnson
Executive Secretary

labor donated

GUS HALL

The Only Choice

Peaceful Coexistence



25c

The Only Choice

Peaceful Coexistence

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

End the Cold War

The United States in Today's World

Our Rights in the Future

Peace Can Be Won

Marxism and Negro Liberation

By GUS HALL

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS: New York

1963

The Only Choice
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

By GUS HALL

Dr. Robert Hutchins said to a conference of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions meeting here in New York: "We believe that the rate of change in the modern world has produced a new predicament for man. Greater changes are coming in the future than any we have experienced. This Age of Change may be marked by violence and chaos or it may be an Age of Reason."

At this meeting the Research Center announced that it is going to spend millions of dollars each year for the next ten years to study the following questions:

- A. Can man in this new age control the surge of technology for the good of individual freedom and general welfare?
- B. Can man prevent total nuclear war which could destroy civilization?
- C. Can man provide a more abundant life for all without crippling losses of individual liberties?
- D. Can man open up the resources of mind and spirit that could raise human life to the highest level of its potential?

And it concludes with the old socialist soap-box slogan (without giving due credit). "We believe an Appeal to Reason may still be heard."

You may rightly ask, why do I open my remarks by quoting

from the spokesman of this big business financed research center?

Well, for a number of reasons, including:

First, because this conference was a reflection of the concern, and keen awareness by millions of our countrymen that we are truly in the Age of Change;

Secondly, because we can agree that it is an Age of Change, and because it is an age of reasoning and probing it can also be an Age of Reason.

This is the Age of Change because we are now travelling through the sharpest phase of the most revolutionary period of transition in human history. In the long march of progress by civilization, this is the first and only time that an economic and political system which has actually reached a position of world dominance, a system whose economic and political claws have reached into all corners of the world, is now being replaced by a new and far superior social order.

While the old system of capitalism dies hard and the new system of socialism has to fight hard, we Communists will attempt to remove all contradictions and road blocks so that this period can be both an Age of Change and an Age of Reason.

In our society, all forces who recognize this as the Age of Change will labor to make it also an Age of Reason. The forces in our country who deny that it is an Age of Change are also the forces which will set up road blocks and promote chaos and violence. They would replace an Age of Change and Reason with an age where mankind crawls from modern achievement into the graveyard and wasteland of nuclear disaster.

AN ANSWER TO THE CHALLENGE

As to the four-month ten year study, I would like to notify the Research Center that if they will hear us out early in the study, they will save millions of dollars. We can tell them that our answers to all their questions are in the affirmative.

We will prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that, yes, man can control the surge of technology for general welfare; yes, man can prevent total nuclear war; yes, man can provide abundant life; and yes, man can open up the resources of mind and raise human

life to the highest levels. And we will prove that this is possible without the crippling of individual liberties. In fact, such liberties will be expanded in the process.

In making our point, we will also prove that man cannot reach these heights under the system of capitalism. But under socialism, the "traffic signals" for all these goals will be—"GO!"

We also say to the Research Center that we will join with them and all mankind in all "appeals to reason" which will prevent wars, end nuclear testing and colonialism, win for the people whatever is possible from the old system of capitalism. We recognize that these things can be achieved only against the will of the titans who control the capitalist system. But such achievements are the foundations, as well as the brick and mortar, of the House of Reason. The struggle is against those who brutally disregard reason.

ASSESS THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

Thus, my remarks today are in the spirit of our continuing study and assessment of the processes which go into making this the Age of Change.

At the outset, it should be noted that the pace of the change continues to accelerate. Because of this, there seems to be no end to the ever new combinations of political phenomena, to the novel developments, and even to the surprises. The variations of development are infinite. And so, for this report the theme has been greatly expanded and the variations have been multiplied many times.

The Clash of Ideas Among Marxists

Today, it is general knowledge that there are some very basic variations of theory and of interpretation of present-day activity that have come to the surface in the ranks of the world Marxist movement. This, too, is a reflection of the historic turning point, of the era of transition, of the Age of Change.

The present sharpness of this internal struggle is not inevitable. It must be fought out, but the debate must be kept within bounds. Yet, in a sense, it would be non-Marxist to expect Marxism to

develop as if it in vacuum. As we have so often repeated, Marxism is a science, but Marxists are people; yes, people who are part of the struggles in society, people who are not unaffected by the ideological influences that whirl about them.

More than any other body of thought, Marxism rises from and has its roots in the activity and the upheavals of society. It develops and grows by the method of reflection—that is, by interpreting the contradictions and struggles in society on the basis of reality. Marxism reflects all movement; but it is especially a reflection of life's sharpest struggle during this age of change, the class struggle.

Thus, the fact that there is a clash of ideas should alarm no one. That it has become too sharp and factional in the expressions of some Marxists is of serious concern to all partisans of progress and peace and to all champions of socialism.

The Science of the New Epoch

The Age of Change presents monumental tasks to the science of Marxism. Our science is now grappling with these problems very successfully. Marxism has the task of interpreting the process of development during this most crucial point of historic transition. And in that process, it develops and grows as the theory that effectively guides the policies and tactics of this new epoch.

Marxism-Leninism has met the challenge and has brilliantly achieved the objective which history has placed at its door step. But there are some who do not recognize or accept the new developments in the theory of Marxism-Leninism. They do not accept it as a living science.

There is a tendency in human nature to retreat to the old when something new and not yet fully understood, is encountered. So also, there are those who would keep this body of theoretical thought at the level it was some forty or fifty years ago.

It is a law of science that if one tries to interpret the processes of today's reality on the basis of a theory that has not continued to develop and been brought up to date, then one will come up with the wrong answers.

There is nothing wrong with the theory of internal combustion. It provided the basis for developing the gasoline motor. But that

theory was not enough to develop modern jet motors. Jet motors resulted from the further development of the theories of combustion and those of other sciences—it required the further development of all these theories. There was a process of fusion of the new and the old. In that process, the old theory becomes changed and transformed into the new.

Thus, to develop Marxism-Leninism is not to downgrade or to nullify the contributions of Marx or Lenin. In fact, the further development of this science gives the teachings of Marx and Lenin a new lustre and a new, even deeper meaning. To develop a science is not to discard the old. On the other hand, to recite the words of Lenin in the abstract, without consideration of time and specific objective surroundings, to recite words without considering historical context is not to defend the science of Marxism-Leninism, but to destroy it.

Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph

Over Dogmatism

The struggle against dogmatism is a struggle to preserve and develop Marxism-Leninism as a living science. It is a struggle for the growth of the science so that it can serve as a guide in solving the problems of this epoch and continue to serve the cause of the working class during the Age of Change.

Yes, the fight against dogmatism involves policies and tactics in the struggle for world peace, and against monopoly capital and imperialism. The unity of the world system of socialist nations and of the world Marxist movement is involved. But one must also keep in the forefront the fact that this is a defense of, and a struggle for, the totality of the science of Marxism-Leninism.

To put it even more sharply, this struggle must determine that Marxism-Leninism will continue as a living, flowing well-spring of fresh and stimulating ideas and concepts, which remain alive and ever-renewing as life itself. This struggle must determine that Marxism does not become fettered and shackled, a hoard of sterile abstract phrases to be handed down through the ages, continually dying up, having less meaning to each new generation which faces

life's problems and realities, and finally to be put on the shelf to collect dust along with the prophecies of Nostradamus, the medieval French astrologer, or with *Poor Richard's Almanac* and the sayings of our Colonial days.

Such is the nature of the struggle. But Marxism-Leninism will never join *Poor Richard's Almanac*!

The fact that Marxism is not an invention, but rises from and is a generalization of the accumulated experiences of man's activity, explains not only why there are differences, but it is also the key to an assurance and a justified confidence that these differences will be resolved. The very same processes of life which have given rise to Marxism will help to cure any mistaken concepts in its vital body of thought. This science is deeply anchored in objective reality and in the struggles of the working class and it will continue to grow and develop.

Our Participation on the Basis of Our Policies

As to our attitude to this world discussion, let it be clearly understood that we are not merely part of a disinterested audience, sitting on the sideline, weighing and listening to arguments and waiting to be convinced. We have a position on all major questions. Our present policy was set forth by our 17th National Convention. We have stated our position clearly and have stood by and will defend our views against all attacks.

We have our own team and home ball park. We are not part of some other team. We are associates in the world of Marxism—but we have our own team in the field.

It is not unimportant that our policies coincide with the overall outlook of the world Marxist movement. But, it is of the greatest importance that our policies are our own conclusions, are based on our own experiences and judgments, and are in the interests of our class and our nation.

We did not issue public statements concerning the specific disagreement until it became clear that our policies were being directly challenged. Our statement of January 9, 1963, was a defense of our policies. And to the extent that it is possible, we are going to conduct this discussion as a defense of the policies which our

Party has developed. That is our responsibility to our class and to the American people. This is also part of our contribution to international working class solidarity, to the unity of the world Marxist movement and to the growth of the science of Marxism-Leninism.

A LOOK AT TODAY'S REALITY

Let us now turn for a moment to specific objective reality—to the events and developments of the present turning point in world history. This calls for a continuing examination of what is happening to the central forces of the epoch. In doing this, we must examine if and how life is sustaining our basic theoretical and policy conclusions—this is a constant responsibility for Marxists.

The old saying that "things are never quite as they seem" is very applicable to present day developments. Superficial examination can be more misleading than ever—just as the thoughtless application of a profound observation and conclusion of the past to entirely different conditions today can be profoundly misleading.

For example, if we were to take President Kennedy's "State of the Union" message at its face value, we would be convinced that capitalism in general, and United States capitalism in particular, is moving on to new frontiers "with great vigor." However, the fact is that nothing has ever moved with such vigor for so long and yet remained so dead-still.

The Process of Socialist Strength and Capitalist Weakness

The old saying also applies in the competition between the two systems. Although the obvious surface changes in the relative positions of the two world systems are important, the less obvious internal processes taking place in both worlds have much greater significance.

The overall nature of these developments is that all of the internal processes in the capitalist world move and develop in a direction that can only lead to continued decline, weakness and

decay. There is not even one process which is now a feature of capitalism, from which that system can draw strength for itself either for the present or for the future.

On the other hand, all the internal processes which are features of the system of socialism move in the direction that guarantees and spells out increasing growth and strength for the present and for the future.

Capitalism accumulates weakness and borrows on the future, while socialism accumulates strength now and builds for the future. Let us examine some of these inner processes.

It is not possible at the present time to assess fully the compounded and escalated growth and strength that is bound to flow from the attention being focused on science, engineering and the role of scientists in the socialist world. Likewise, we should observe the continued very high rate of economic growth, the joint planning, the international division of labor, and the development of technology and automation in industrial production. Each of these internal processes point not simply to growth, but to rapid growth and accumulated and expanded resources for the future.

On the other hand, every process in the capitalist world leads to continued failure in meeting the needs of the people, and to further weaknesses in the system itself.

Not so long ago the capitalist world superficially appeared to be a united entity, neatly tied together with the strings of NATO, SEATO, CENTO, OAS and the Common Market. U.S. imperialism pretended that it had to be asked to become the leader of this "Grand Alliance." We, who have the use of Marxism knew, of course, that there were other inner processes at work, and that this "Alliance" under United States imperialism was not so "grand."

Now the neat package has exploded. Today, there are no two capitalist countries which agree on any single area of problems. The alliances are reeking with discord, and the leader of the "free world" is freely booed about. The remains of the British empire are being redistributed as so much booty in the negotiations between the United States and West German imperialism. Even the kissing agreement between the old pirates at the head of West German and French imperialism seems to be of short duration, with De Gaulle refusing to share the spoils with MacMillan.

Spokesmen for U.S. imperialism, with hurt and angry feelings, castigate De Gaulle for talking tough to his allies. Only two weeks earlier, these same spokesmen were hailing Kennedy for talking tough to our allies. Capitalist relations today are comparable to the German-Italian alliance during another grave moment in history. Hitler called it a "brutal friendship."

The Common Market now stands exposed. It was to have been an instrument of U. S. imperialism, with West German imperialism serving as a junior partner. But the junior partner took in other partners and now sees no advantage in continuing the junior status under the United States. The Common Market is now in the throes of a bitter struggle for power between France and West Germany, and more and more it is becoming an instrument against U.S. imperialism.

These shipwrecked alliances are a surprise only to those who do not see the inner processes that eat away at the foundations of capitalism and imperialism. A little over a year ago, there was much noise about the Alliance for Progress. It never got off the ground, but bogged down in the dirty mire of U.S. imperialism. As the inner processes create weakness within imperialism, so also do these processes lead to a continued march to victory for movements of national liberation.

A LOOK AT THE ECONOMIC ANATOMY OF OUR COUNTRY

The United States is the stronghold of capitalism. Since President Kennedy's "State of the Union" message is so evasive with regard to the status of our country, let us take a closer look at the inner processes within this bastion of capitalism.

Economic Growth Rate

Not long ago, the words "Economic Growth Rate" were hardly known. Now there is great concern about it, and the big business magazines are full of articles about this phenomenon. *Business Week* states: "The interrelated problems that have been afflicting

the U.S. economy for half a decade are: slow growth, frequent recessions, chronic unemployment, excess capacity, inadequate profits, insufficient business investments and budgetary deficits." That sounds like the seven deadly plagues of capitalism, in the period of its general decay.

Since 1957, the rate of growth in our country has been about the same as the population growth. For the last ten years the rate has averaged about 1% above what the population growth has been. Cold war expenditures and unused industrial capacity are like soggy wet blankets choking all growth and even thoughts of growth.

The new factor now developing is that the rest of the capitalist world is joining the U.S.A. in the slow-growth-rate doghouse. The same inner decay is now showing up in Japan, France and West Germany. The growth rate in our country has been consistently below 3% while the growth rate in socialist countries is around 10%.

Deficit Living

Another of these processes is the steady increase of indebtedness. The Federal debt now exceeds \$300 billion and the yearly deficits now reach war-time figures. Consumer indebtedness is now 61% billion dollars. In 1929, the consumer indebtedness was 8% of spendable income. Now the consumer average indebtedness is 16% of spendable income. We are a nation of insolvent people, burdened with personal and governmental debts.

Taxes

President Kennedy's tax reduction proposals do not outline the proper steps that would lead to real solutions for these economic problems. And it is realistic to assume that Congress will further weaken Kennedy's proposals. The President correctly states that the working people have to spend about 94% of their income as they get it. Therefore, whatever tax cuts the people were to get would immediately become new buying power and help to stimulate new markets.

In discussing the tax cut we should keep in mind the following: there is no growth because there is over-industrial-capacity; there is over-capacity because there is under-consumption and the anarchy of capitalist production, there is under-consumption because the average income of our people is too low. This indicates where tax cuts should be made.

The tax on incomes of \$600 for a single person was initiated during World War II when there was also supposed to be a tax to limit incomes to \$25,000 a year. Before the war, all incomes below \$1,000 for a single person and \$2,500 for a married couple were exempted from taxation. The rich evade tax payments through loopholes, yet they get the big bonanzas in every tax reform, including the present proposals. Any tax reform which is directed at stimulating our economic growth would call for full exemptions for low income groups, and increased taxes on high incomes and corporations. It makes only capitalist sense to tax people who are now living at the officially recognized poverty levels.

Monopoly Power Grows

The consolidation of monopoly control and ownership of all industry and finances results from weakness, and further undermines the foundation on which the future of capitalism rests. This process continues at a furious pace. The latest mergers include railroads, air transportation and banks.

Another sign of this narrowing down and consolidation can be seen in statistics. Thirty years ago only one percent of the adult population owned 60% of all corporate stocks. That figure indicated dangerous control by the few. Now one percent of the population owns close to 90% of all corporate stocks. There is no future strength for capitalism in this trend. With increased power in the hands of a few families, or financial dynasties, U.S. capitalism breeds its own incestuous inner deterioration.

State Monopoly Capitalism

The same must be said about the unprecedented growth of the

state-monopoly capital sector. The fusion of monopoly capital and the state has created a new and overpowering economic force. We use the term "state" here in a more fundamental sense. We have in mind the governmental national authority or "state power." In many ways it has become the dominant force that determines the course of industrial and financial affairs of our land. Without understanding this concept one cannot understand the full meaning of the ever-increasing budgets of the Federal government and the significance of Federal government contracts going to the biggest monopolies, thus strengthening their control over the economy.

State-monopoly capitalism in our country is taking its own peculiar path and distinct forms. It is using its power to curb the labor movement, destroy the rights of the people, place restrictions on public services, limit all social legislation, and take full command over our natural resources. An ever-narrowing grouping in monopoly circles seeks more and yet more powerful control over the policies of the country.

However, direct state ownership or joint state and private ownership is not as big a factor in the development of state monopoly capitalism in the United States as it is in many European countries. But the huge military and space production combines financed by billions of Federal government dollars are practically state-monopoly capitalist operations. The increasing role of the state in monopoly capitalist development is dramatized in the following facts: In 1940 total government spending was 10% of the gross national product. In 1950 it rose to 21.5%; in 1955 to 24.5% and in 1963 it has reached 31.0%. In states like Kansas and California, of the over-all business activity, including jobs, the government share is 30% and 25%, respectively. By and large, all of these government expenditures are siphoned through the large monopolies. The state is now the largest single purchaser and the biggest single source of fabulous profits for the big corporations.

Furthermore, the state is now the largest contributor and main source for capital expansion expenditures. This is done directly and indirectly by allowing tax exemption and tax rebates for capital investment and construction. The President has indicated that these government expenditures will increase at the rate of 5 to 10 billion dollars a year.

The huge research programs are also largely state monopoly enterprises. This is how the President placed the question: "The Federal Government is already the main source of financial support for research and development in the United States. Most funds now spent on research are channeled to private contracts."

And there are plans for more of the same. Thus, the President says, "I shall propose a number of measures to encourage civilian research and development and to make the by-products of military and space research easily accessible to civilian industry. The measures will include:

1. "Development of a Federal-State Engineering extension service;
2. "New means of facilitating the use by civilian industry of the results of Government-financed research;
3. "Selected support of industrial research and development and technical information services;
4. "Support of industry research associations;
5. "Adjustment of the income tax laws to give business firms an additional stimulus to invest in research equipment, and
6. "Stimulus of university training of industrial research personnel."

This is a boastful public announcement of how the government gives complete support to private business. These projects are not for small business or for public institutions. This is government big business. There are complete government contracted corporations—corporations to administer these projects, profit from them, and control all other agencies in the field through their own power and through the power of the state.

There is also a fusion of state and monopoly capital when the government becomes the backer and guarantor of overseas private investments. The fact that the monopolists readily get the support of, and are encouraged by, the state, indicates not only the character of state monopoly capitalism, but a weakness of capitalism. The government is the co-signer for real estate developments, and price subsidies are given by the dozens to such capitalist and profit-seeking ventures.

State monopoly capitalism has thus become institutionalized in the U.S.A. The Federal and state governments back the monopolies. Public funds collected by taxing the people are given to monopoly capital. The state is *in the service* of monopoly capital in every phase of political, social and economic life.

This takes place because capitalism cannot continue to function as of old. In fact, it cannot function as a strictly private venture; therefore the state comes in to save it. So the state serves the interests of capitalism and acts in the interests and for the protection of monopoly capital. This power of monopoly capital can only be curbed by a people's anti-monopoly movement and coalition acting in the interests of our people and nation.

State monopoly capitalist development is a final, but a futile attempt to save capitalism from its inevitable demise. The undeniable fact that American capitalism can no longer stay in business as a purely private venture and must now bring in the state as an ever increasing factor testifies to the need for a basic change.

The intervention in the economy by the state, and the fusion of the state with monopoly capitalism is not a process of creeping socialism. It is a step to save capitalism. What the apologists for capitalism try to hide is that precisely because it is necessary for the state to come in to save it, is in itself proof that capitalism has outlived its day and now continues only because of external artificial stimulants.

When the state is completely dominated by the monopolies, the state intervention will be for the monopolies at the expense of the people.

The state must enter into the realm of our economic developments. But it must be made to do so in partnership with the people, to curb the power of the monopolies and not to add to their power.

This kind of state intervention must be different in form and content from that of state-monopoly capitalist relations. As a first step it points to a need for the state to nationalize the industries it is now keeping in business through huge subsidies and grants. This would be a big saving for the tax-payer because it would eliminate the huge profits that now go into private coffers. There are huge profits in industries that are bankrupt but keep going only because of state support.

The industries that are state supported, public utilities, all defense industries, and industries that cannot or refuse to take into account the problems flowing from automation should be the first to be taken over as nationalized public enterprises. The trade unions and the public should be democratically represented in the management of these institutions. But this development also points to the need to have a state where the working class and the common people have the dominant influence. Such a state can then proceed to complete the shift from private ownership of the means of production to social ownership of the means of production. Then our economy can shift from the present dead-end private profit motive and move to the unlimited economic sweep of production for social gain as its only motive.

Actually, capitalism is only momentarily strengthened by the acts of the state in relation to the economy. But the fact that the state must and does intervene points up the weaknesses of capitalism and indicates the imperative need for a socialist solution to the contradictions which are inherent in capitalism. The intervention by the state on the basis of giving aid and strength to the monopolies has a note of futility which can be attributed to the failing weakness of capitalism as such.

Alexander Hamilton, the farsighted spokesman for capitalism in the Washington administration, already set forth the theory and the administrative framework which later becomes the basis for the kind of monopoly state capitalist development which is peculiar to the United States. The guiding principle he introduced was that government interference is desirable when it aids business, but it is intolerable and unsound if it helps agriculture or labor. The intertwining system of government and banking set up by Hamilton was a natural for the present day development of state monopoly capitalism.

SOCIALIST SECTOR HAS GROWING DOMINANCE

These are some of the developments in the capitalist sector of society during this new epoch.

Of course the balance in the relationship between capitalism and socialism continues to tip in favor of socialism. Furthermore, the processes within both the capitalist and the socialist systems are of such a nature that the transition toward socialism and the victories for socialism are continuing at a rapid pace.

A Boiling Point of Transition

All of these processes are only further proof that we are living in a new epoch. They further testify to the fact that the fundamental and primary source of all processes of this period is that class relations have reached the critical point of the period of transition from the world system of capitalism to the world system of socialism. And so we are at a turning point in history—a boiling point in the dialectical processes of progress. At all such "boiling points" a new quality makes its appearance. In a sense, the struggle between the two classes, between the two systems, has been a process of quantitative accumulation. This is a boiling point of that process, and so a new quality has entered the struggle. What is this qualitative change? It is the tipping of the scales in favor of the new forces arrayed around the world system of socialist nations. It is now this new force which largely determines the direction of human events.

This "turning point" also means that capitalism has reached a new—the third—stage of its general crisis and decay, while socialism has reached a new stage of growth and consolidation.

There are some who agree with this assessment, but argue that this is a temporary phenomenon. We can agree with them—it is transitory. What we cannot agree upon is the direction these processes will take. They say things will return to the old path; capitalism is suffering from a momentary relapse, but it will recover. We say such thoughts are only the wishful thinking of apologists for capitalism. Capitalism will still have its ups and downs, but those ups and downs will take place within the context of an overall historic downward direction. Capitalism will never recover its former position. It is in its period of stagnation and decline. All indicators point only to more of the same.

On February 18, 1963, James Reston of the *New York Times* wrote:

"Nevertheless, he is depressed. For he thought, even at the beginning of the year, that he was gaining on history, and now after only a few tumultuous weeks, history seems to be gaining on him."

Reston was writing about President Kennedy. But it applies to all spokesmen for capitalism. History not only "seems" to be gaining on capitalism—it is gaining, and fast.

The process that, more than any other, characterizes the 20th century, and also dramatizes history's gaining on capitalism, is the steady closing of the gap between capitalism and socialism. Until very lately socialism carried a great handicap into this competition. Socialism emerged in countries which capitalism had left at a very low industrial and technological level: these countries lacked factories, machine tools, transportation, housing, skills, and they inherited an agricultural system that was on a wooden-plow level.

Where to get the initial capital with which to build was a serious problem. Long term loans have been the key in such situations. But the rest of the world was capitalist, and for political reasons they closed all such doors.

So the first socialist country was forced to start by feeding its people, rebuilding on the ruins of the first World War, the civil war, and the ruins left by the invading armies of Germany, France, Great Britain and the U.S.A. It had to build an arms production and accumulate the resources with which to build its industries, houses, hospitals and transportation. Because the capitalist world attempted to strangle this first socialist country, this was a "boot strap" operation.

After less than 25 years, in another war and another devastation, the Soviet Union lost more people, factories, machines, farm animals, houses, cities, than all the other countries put together. Again socialism had to rebuild on the basis of its own resources.

That section of the capitalist world that did suffer from the war was able to get loans and help from the U.S.A. because U.S. capitalism not only suffered no losses, but had grown rich and fat from the war.

Capitalism has and is putting every possible obstacle in the path of socialism. There are restrictions to trade. The socialist countries cannot even buy industrial goods from our country. But all this is of no avail—the gap continues to close.

Socialism started the competition in 1917 with 3% of the world industrial production. In 1961 socialism produced 37% of the world's production. Since 1937 socialism has increased its production by 7½ times, while capitalism increased its share 2½ times. The most dramatic side of this competition is that between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Slowly, item by item, the relative positions between these two countries are changing. By 1960 the U.S.S.R. had overtaken the U.S.A. in production of iron ore, coal, coke, metal cutting machine tools, diesel locomotives, electric locomotives, passenger railway cars, tractors, harvester combines, prefabricated reinforced concrete, window glass, lumber, woolen fabrics, sugar, fish, wheat, barley, potatoes, sugar beet, flax-fibre, butter and wool. In the U.S.A. we have one physician for every 800 inhabitants. In the Soviet Union there is one physician for every 600 inhabitants. They now graduate many times more scientists and engineers than we do.

And so the gap closes.

There is change in relative positions also in other areas. In the capitalist world the direction is for a restriction of democracy, as is so clearly evidenced by the McCarran Act and dozens of other repressive laws. In the socialist world the direction is constantly to broaden the base of people's democratic rule.

Here there is a struggle for medical aid and security for the aged. Under socialism this is an integral part of the basic rights incorporated into the constitution and the economic system itself. Under capitalism automation results in unemployment and insecurity. With socialism automation is a blessing that can only result in a shorter work day with a higher standard of living. Under capitalism the new generation faces the serious problem of no jobs. In socialism youth faces life in an ever expanding economy with unlimited opportunities.

Socialism has eliminated unemployment. In the capitalist world the permanent army of unemployment constantly grows.

Until socialism was able to build a solid foundation, it carried the handicap of all "bootstrap" operations. Now it moves into the competition to close the gap with a firm foundation.

For socialism the handicap was a temporary phenomenon. It has now overcome it. For capitalism the advantage was temporary and the handicap remains a growing one. The handicap for capitalism is that the direction of history is against it. The old gap will close—a new gap will open up as socialism overtakes and surpasses capitalism.

Socialism is winning this competition because it is a better system for today's reality. Capitalism is a system where a few greedy rich gobble up the natural resources of the good earth and the labor power of the great majority of mankind. They use the talents and skills of all only to enrich themselves. They take absolutely no responsibility for the welfare of society. There are no tears shed when a corporation lays off workers who have given their lives to enrich the stockholders. Capitalism is a dog-eat-dog system. There can be no planning. Socialism is a system based on the concept that mankind has climbed the ladder of civilization to the point where it can now, as a world community of free men, plan, own and manage, the economy, the new technology, and use the resources of mother Nature and the talents of man all with only one aim in mind—to make the life of each and every human being fully secure, meaningful, creative and enjoyable.

If one does not give full weight to this basic assessment of the "age of change," then understandably one cannot draw the necessary policy or tactical conclusions for the period.

To understand the decisive nature of the qualitative change of this new objective reality means to acknowledge that it must of necessity affect all areas of struggle, that it will influence all the forces in the struggle, and, therefore, must be reflected in all questions of theory, policy and tactics. It simply cannot be any other way.

The historic achievement of the 17th Convention of the CP, U.S.A. is in its correct analysis and development of policies based upon the processes of this "turning point." This is fully reflected in the resolutions which were adopted.

THE WORLD DISCUSSION ON BASIC POLICY QUESTIONS

I have already indicated the significance of the discussion on basic policy questions which is now going on. Before we dig deeper into the discussion, let us clear up some related issues.

We Will Discuss Basic Issues

Speaking at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, after emphasizing that "solid unity of the world Communist movement is the most important condition for our success in the struggle for peace and socialism throughout the world," also stated that the Central Committee of the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union would consider it useful now to call a halt to polemics between Communist Parties, to stop criticizing other parties inside one's Party and allow some time for the passions to subside." He discussed and elaborated on this proposal.

We welcome these proposals. We would also be happy if the present level of the discussion were limited to the basic questions free of subjective and slanderous name-calling, such as the utterly irresponsible charge of "Munich" made against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

While we welcome every effort "to halt the polemics" and to cut down the debate, we find we cannot and should not cut down on the discussion of issues and policies in our country. When the editorial, "Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us," was published in the *Washington Post* and became a point of discussion by anti-Communist columnists throughout the country we could not remain silent. This was all the more true because the editorial assailed the policies of our Party. We cannot allow anybody to present a caricature of our Party policy to the American people. In our country there are small but irresponsible sects and groups who have gone all-out in their attempt to use this world discussion as a lever in their struggle against the Communist Party and its policies. They have set themselves up as the distributing agencies for all divisive material. They distort the discussion and use it in a

completely irresponsible manner. These sects are anti-Communist and are not interested in supporting the Marxists of China, Albania or any other country; they are not interested in bringing about a new unity in the world Marxist movement. They are only interested in using the discussion for their own disruptive and anti-Communist purposes. We cannot permit the slanders of these groups to go unanswered.

Part of the Background

The differences are not only of recent origin. At all times, there was a serious effort to resolve the differences. This was the basis for the *Declaration of the 12 Parties* adopted at the Moscow conference in 1957 and the *81-Party Statement* adopted in 1960.

From 1956 to the present date, the Albanians have used every possible occasion to provoke public discussion. This pattern includes their behavior at, and immediately after, the 81-Party Conference. At one of their receptions here, the Albanians converted an informal exchange of greetings with some of our comrades into a two-hour denunciation of the Soviet Union, during which the Albanians became so slanderous and abusive that our comrades had to walk out on them. This took place a few months after publication of the *81-Party Statement*.

The dogmatists in the world debate have used their publications in many languages and every other means of correspondence, including interviews with respected writers on numerous radio programs, to aggravate those differences.

Anna Louise Strong has written a series of letters and articles directed at us in the United States as part of this campaign. Her latest letter makes the vicious charge that "the two K's are plotting against Cuba. Her letters are another device for violating the norms of "inner family" discussion.

Bring an End to Slander

The October crisis in the Caribbean brought the slanderous charges to a new stage. The dogmatists distorted the events and charged the Soviet Union with a "Munich"—"the sacrifice of another country's sovereignty as a means of reaching a compromise with

imperialism." And then they write, "A compromise of this sort can only be regarded as one hundred percent appeasement, a Munich pure and simple." This is irresponsible, calculated slander which can only divide the socialist forces and play into the hands of imperialism. They further charge the Soviet Union with "merely exposing the hypocrisy of their own support for Cuba's five demands." Such slander must be rejected.

To one error, they add another; to one slander, they add another. They put Comrade Togliatti in the same class with Kautsky and charge him with substituting revisionism for Marxism-Leninism, and with the betrayal of Communism. Their attacks have lost all sense of responsibility.

We can understand this process from our own experience in bitter factional struggles, when good, serious and honest comrades, who had been tested in many struggles in the past, would try to strengthen one mistake position with yet another struggle by supporting their false position in a factional struggle by supporting only to another error, and soon the faction was placed above the Party. But the faction was based on a false and unprincipled line; and good comrades became more and more caught in the mire of their unprincipled behavior, and completely irresponsible in their relations to the working class and to the Party. Yes, we had to exercise patience and firmness, and at the same time had to correct the situation.

Halt the Peddling of Nonsense

In recent writings the dogmatists have accused the world Marxist movement of supporting imperialism, of going from class struggle to class collaboration, of being opposed to all national liberation revolutions, of supporting monopoly capitalism, of cowardice, of selling out to imperialism, and of becoming social-democrats. Such utter irresponsibility and disregard for the facts is certainly shocking.

- We wholeheartedly advocate putting a stop to such discussion. However, when it comes to issues, we are forced to fight for our policies in and around the party. We will continue discussing our policies which are under attack.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE FACILITATES VICTORIES IN CLASS STRUGGLE

Possibly the greatest confusion is centered around the question: *Is the concept of peaceful coexistence, of preventing war and nuclear disaster, compatible with or in contradiction to, does it change or nullify the Marxian concepts of the class struggle, imperialism, the struggle for national liberation, and the concept that socialism and communism will be the next stage of history?*

The world Marxist movement proceeds from the premise that there is no contradiction here. The world Marxists, including ourselves, hold that the policy of peaceful coexistence is compatible with and facilitates the class struggle, the end of colonialism and the emergence of world socialism. We firmly believe that this is not only correct, but that any other policy in the context of the realities of this epoch can lead only to defeats and setbacks.

The world Marxist movement has developed policies and tactics based on an assessment of the balance of forces in the present-day world. These are policies and tactics of class struggle, of national liberation, and of the struggle for socialism in the period when the scales of history have tipped to the side of socialism and progress.

These concepts do not negate or nullify the class struggle. They help the working class in this struggle. They remove roadblocks. They build confidence and the will to win among workers. They are the up-to-date blueprint for victory over capitalism. The builders of the Aswan Dam could not harness the waters of the Nile with the same blueprint or the same concepts as were available to the builders of the pyramids in old Egypt.

The policy of peaceful coexistence opens the door to the future and makes it unnecessary to break down an open door. It makes it possible for the working class to avoid the long march when a short cut is available. It illuminates the new pathways and the new possibilities of victory. The policy of peaceful coexistence is the result of a changing objective world reality, of accumulated experience of class struggle, of realism and of good common sense.

The Dogmatists Move from Criticism to Attack

On the other hand, the dogmatists view the policies of peaceful coexistence as being in contradiction to policies of class struggle, of national liberation, and the struggle for socialism. They argue that these policies have led the world Marxist movement into the swamp of opportunism, revisionism, and capitulation to capitalism and imperialism.

It is very important to understand how and why they view this as a contradiction. Is it because they view world peace as an illusion and as an unattainable goal under capitalism? Or is it that they believe that progress against capitalism and imperialism is possible only by non-peaceful means?

Modern dogmatism has gone through an evolutionary process. It started with a denial of the possibility of preventing wars—at first limited wars, and now, more or less, all wars. It started with an emphasis on the remoteness of the chances of peaceful development, but it has now regressed to a point where no possibility for such development is seen. Thus, the position began with a securing criticism or small difference, but has now reached a point of complete negation, of opposition to all policies developed since the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956.

The method of struggle by the dogmatists has also gone through a similar process. At first, they started from a position of giving a one-sided emphasis while also stating the total concept. Now, they only assert and defend the one-sided concept. This method has made the one-sided emphasis into a full position, into a complete program or platform.

The dogmatic attack on the world Marxist movement has also had its evolutionary transition. It has regressed from criticism, discussion and hints of further differences, to open falsification and slander. The criticism has been turned into an attack.

Thus, in a basic sense, the present outlook of this modern dogmatism is that wars cannot be prevented and there is no peaceful possibility for progress. That is putting their position in the most simple and direct way.

The concept of peaceful coexistence has enriched Marxism because it has added new and additional avenues, possibilities and

tactics for the class struggle. It has not nullified the class struggle but has refreshed and raised its policies and tactics to correspond with the needs, the possibilities and the facts of the new reality.

Peaceful Coexistence Policy Enriches Marxism

Policies of peaceful coexistence have nothing in common with concepts of status-quo. The world is not going to stand still. In fact, struggles, upheavals, and mass movements are the trade marks of this—the age of transition and change.

Because no nation is going to continue to be exploited and oppressed by imperialist powers, colonialism is fast coming to an end. Because no people are going to remain in oppression because of race or nationality, racial oppression is coming to an end. Because the working class is not content to forever accept the status of a "have not" class, class oppression must come to an end. As a result of the struggles to eliminate all oppression and inequality, capitalism—the system responsible for the oppression and exploitation—will be discarded on the dung heap of history. There is no power that can halt these struggles. Victory over the evils of capitalism is in the cards.

In the period of the new epoch these struggles have not diminished. On the contrary, they have greatly accelerated, precisely because the new balance of world forces has given these movements a new confidence, a new strength.

The struggles for world peace and against the danger of nuclear war do not belong to one world while the struggles for progress and socialism belong to another world. These struggles are very closely linked and become intertwined. They are different currents of one human stream, flowing towards a socialist-communist world fraternity of all peoples.

On the other hand, the new balance of world forces has not made obsolete the need to give leadership to struggles around specific reforms. It has not eliminated the need for tactics as well as over-all policies. It has not changed the concept that struggles and movements reflect and develop as a result of contradictions and unsolved problems, as the people face them. It has not changed the basic and correct concept that policies and tactics must be

based on the concrete objective reality of the moment.

Of course, it must be clear that the policy of peaceful coexistence applies to the relations between nations of different social and economic systems. In its application, it means peaceful competition and struggle. Our confidence is in the victory of the system of socialism in this struggle for the minds and support of workers and of all mankind.

The phrase "Peaceful Coexistence" does not apply to the internal relations between classes and groups, nor to the ideological struggle between them. It in no way curbs the militancy and the will of our class and the mass of people to struggle.

This does not negate the over-all influence of the policy of peaceful coexistence in these struggles. As a matter of fact, the peace policy which guides relations between countries permits the more militant struggles on these very decisive internal problems of our society. There can be no status quo coexistence between classes, between the Negro American who is half free and half-slave and the white Dixiecrat rulers and their policies of discrimination and segregation; there can be no status quo coexistence between the oppressed and the oppressors. It is only the dogmatic caricature of the policies of peaceful coexistence that tries to give the impression that such a policy would mean a moratorium on the struggles of the people. The policies of peaceful coexistence are policies of struggle in the period of the new epoch.

Let us review recent events to see if world Marxism is correct in this concept of peaceful coexistence and what might have occurred if on the other hand, the leaders of the working class movement had followed the dogmatic path. What more vivid test is there than the October crisis in the Caribbean?

Cuba—A Decisive Victory For

Peaceful Coexistence

In this crisis, all the elements, forces and policies encompassed in this study and discussion, confronted the stark realities of life. Here, the policy of peaceful coexistence met the test in the sharpest possible form. The question of the class struggle, the struggle to prevent a nuclear world war, the struggle against imperialism and for national liberation, the struggle for socialism all were at stake.

And what was the outcome of that crucial test? Nuclear war did not take place. Cuba was not invaded. And socialism was not destroyed. So, is it not clear that in life, peaceful coexistence is not in contradiction to these basic policies? In the Caribbean, the policy of peaceful coexistence became the policy of victory. That must be clear to everybody.

As to concessions and compromises, were there any? Yes, on both sides. But were any concessions made by the forces of socialism that in any way weakened, bargained away or damaged working class interests, the struggle against imperialism and the cause of world socialism? Only eyes blinded by dogmatism and factionalism could see this victory for the forces of progress in complete reverse.

This was a signal victory for the heroic people of Cuba, for the might of world socialism, and for the partisans of peace throughout the world. It was a victory for the forces that now determine the over-all direction of history.

That victory gave to the mass of people of all lands new assurances and renewed confidence in the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. They saw the defeat of the nuclear war threat to all humanity. Workers in all countries were given a vital new experience and argument for the cause of socialism. In the Caribbean crisis the new determining role of the socialist sector in this new epoch of world history was put to a test and scored such a victory that a new quality has been added to political life upon which the workers and peoples of all countries can make further advances. Such a victory must not be thrown away into the garbage can of slander!!

- And a Defeat for Dogmatism!

The voices of dogmatism are now in the embarrassing position of hailing the end results of a policy they denounced as a "Munich," as "appeasement" and a "sell-out." But there are no limits to "flexibility" when it comes to wiggling out of a dogmatic dilemma. In discussing the one and same development, they turn one way to accuse the Soviet Union of capitulation to U.S. imperialism, then turn the other way and hail this same development as a victory.

for the Cuban people. Of course it was a victory for the Cuban people. It was a victory for the leadership of Fidel Castro and his comrades. This does not contradict the fact that it was a victory for the policies of peace and anti-imperialism, and a victory for the forces of world socialism. Neither does it contradict the recognition of the important role of the Soviet Union in this struggle. This crucial test of the policy of peaceful coexistence in the crucible of life's reality has again proven that the policies of dogmatism are bankrupt and false.

If the negotiation and the settlement of the Caribbean crisis can be mislabeled as "appeasement" and "sell-out" while the net results are hailed as victories, then the settlement of every strike and the signing of labor contracts could be called "sell-out" and acts of class collaboration, while the results of such acts are hailed as victories. This dogmatic doubletalk is just as ridiculous in world affairs as it would be in trade union-management affairs. Dogmatists would label each treaty between countries of different social systems, including boundary agreements, as capitulation. They would equate diplomatic relations to appeasement. Such attitudes and expressions have nothing in common with Marxism—dogmatism becomes a substitute for Marxism in such practices.

To some of the forces who have tended to take a pseudo-leftist position and who have fought against our position—which takes note of the differences within the ranks of the spokesmen for U.S. capitalism—the Caribbean developments have become "inexplicable." How can the resolution of the Cuban crisis be understood if one holds on to a concept which says that U.S. imperialism is now for the use of nuclear weapons, that U.S. imperialism was and is for the invasion of Cuba by the armed forces of the United States; that it was not going to lift the naval blockade; that it has made no commitment not to invade; and that U.S. imperialism refuses to take note of the new relationship of world forces. The developments since and during the crisis become "inexplicable" only to those who do not accept the change in the world relationship of forces, and to those who pursue a policy based on the denial that there are differences within the ranks of U.S. capitalism. It becomes inexplicable if one insists that the new world relationships do not in any way affect or influence the forces of

imperialism. Such dogmatic concepts will always lead to inexplicable dead ends.

To some of these same forces who were sold on the story of so-called "sell-out" and "capitulation," the revelations by Administration spokesmen about Cuba's present defenses and the aid given by the Soviet Union to Cuba also now become inexplicable.

To avoid painting oneself into unnecessary corners, the following should be kept in mind:

The basic nature of imperialism has not changed; but the world has. And because it has changed, imperialism can no longer roam and plunder the world as the unchallenged ruler.

Yes, U.S. imperialism is aggressive, war-like and ruthless. Wherever there is the slightest opening for its greedy claws, it grabs. But there are a number of factors that make for divisions in the ranks of imperialism. These divisions have an influence on policy and tactics in such vital matters as nuclear war, invasion of Cuba, democracy and fascism. These divisions have their reverberations on the whole body politic of our land. They are reflected in the Kennedy Administration. Not to take note of these differences, and to assume that the entire Administration and all public spokesmen for American capitalism are part of the ultra-Right is to do a disservice to our class and people. This leads to hopelessness and a dead end. It is not correct nor is it realistic. In such an outlook there is no room for openings or for levers by which to mobilize sections of our people. This does not lead to struggle or movement.

We welcome the second thoughts by some of the forces within the Left on this matter. However, these second thoughts would be more meaningful if they were openly acknowledged as such rather than protected with the guise that they are not at all second thoughts but rather new thoughts stemming from the appearance for the first time of differences within the ranks of U.S. capitalism.

Some Further Lessons on Tactics and Policy

While we are thinking about differences in outlook, let us keep in mind the very elementary but basic fact that policy, agreements and tactics have only one purpose. The singular purpose is to guide, organize and lead people in struggle. This is an elementary fact in the whirl of high-sounding politics it is often forgotten. If the

assessment of policy and tactics do not serve this totally central objective, that assessment is either worthless or harmful.

People who are to be organized for struggle are not simply robots. They are real people existing in a real world and in a precise framework of class relations. They do not automatically respond to a magic wand of left-sounding phrases.

We must always keep in mind, again an elementary but hard fact of political life, that neither we nor anybody else can invent, produce, export or import, dictate by long distance or short distance, or bring about by abstract or artificial means, a socialist revolution or a revolution of national liberation. Revolutions are not "command performances."

Like strikes of workers and struggles for equality, all such movements arise from the native soil of contradictions and unsolved problems of each country. This fact does not in any way minimize the initiating, inspiring and organizing role of leadership, but rather gives the people and the movement a relationship to leadership. That leadership which would ignore the specific reality of the people seeking an answer to problems, would not last very long. Only that leadership which is closely tied to the people in a specific struggle can help make that struggle victorious.

Leaders of Marxist parties whose peoples have been victorious either over capitalism or over imperialism should not now be unmindful that their victory was possible only because of the actual unfolding of policies and tactics which reflected and were called for by a very specific set of circumstances. The working class and the people of each country are no different; they are also a product of their own experiences and their own traditions. They react to class problems and struggles based on their own conditions and understanding. In view of this fact, general exhortations with Left and revolutionary phrases can only serve to confuse and mislead some of the more advanced people.

Let us consider the question of policy as an instrument of leadership for people in motion and in struggle. Let us see what our policy would be if we were to accept the line now put forth by the dogmatists.

With such a policy, we would give up all united front relations as the peace movement. We would be denouncing as "bourgeois

pacifists" the Quakers, the Student Peace Union, Women Strike for Peace, SANE, Turn Toward Peace, the Non-Violent War Resisters, and literally hundreds of other local peace organizations. We would even denounce the World Peace Council and the Accra Assembly on "World Without the Bomb" for creating "illusions about disarmament." We would charge the United Auto Workers, District 65 in New York, and others within the labor movement, with blatant hypocrisy.

Why would we do all this? Because even though they do not oppose the policies of U.S. imperialism, they participated in the struggle to prevent an invasion of Cuba; they call for an end to nuclear tests and the outlawing of nuclear war; they oppose war over Berlin and call for recognition of China and the establishment of normal trade relations; they call for the full acceptance of China in the United Nations, and they are for total disarmament. But, dogmatists say, they do not "openly attack U.S. imperialism as the gendarme of world reaction." Therefore, if we would not denounce them we would not be giving full support to that phrase in the 81-party statement which states that U.S. imperialism is such a gendarme.

Were we to follow the line of the dogmatists, we would have to denounce all disarmament talk as "building illusions." We would snarl into the face of the people who are now getting excited in happy anticipation of a nuclear test ban agreement. We would condemn these talks as "appeasement," as relying on the "false promises of imperialism."

We would give up our anti-monopoly line of struggle because this is "not attacking the capitalist system as a whole."

The dogmatists would have us give up our struggle against the danger of the ultra-Right and concentrate all our fire on the Kennedy Administration thereby giving the ultra-Right free rein. They would have us say that the ultra-Right is now in power and that "Kennedy is a worse fascist than Hitler."

They would insist that we forget about supporting the Negro liberation movements and struggles for equal rights and follow the policies of self-defeating adventurism and sectarianism.

If we were to accept their advice we would cut off all of our relations with trade union leaders despite the millions of workers

they lead in strikes, "because they are agents of imperialism, advocates of the cold war, and sell-out artists."

We would limit our electoral work to Communist candidates and would especially seek to run those candidates against liberal and progressive candidates in order to destroy the illusions of the people in candidates who support or compromise with capitalism. There would be "no scubbing at the ballot box," and in this we would join with the Socialist Labor Party which has the longest record of dogmatic and sectarian policy in American politics—and the least effective.

We would not raise the question of public ownership of industry because that is a "bourgeois demand in a capitalist society."

The dogmatists would have us attack such youth organizations as Advance, the Student Peace Union, the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, the Students for a Democratic Society, and all other such organizations because youth should be organized only in a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist youth organization such as a Young Communist League.

They would have us stop talking about possible peaceful roads to socialism. Instead we would say that what separates us from other Americans is that we believe in the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and in the "smashing of the bourgeois state."

And so we have a picture of what things would be like if dogmatists dominated our Party.

They would have us abstractly calling for "militant revolutionary actions."

Under their leadership we would think up vile and slanderous names and charges to make against the leaders of labor and liberals in politics and public life, and on each Monday morning we would give our post-mortem on the activities of labor and the masses for the previous week.

WE REJECT DOGMATISM

All of this, of course, sounds ridiculous. It is. Yet that is the program and trap of the dogmatists who are always demanding to be heard.

We reject such nonsense because we participate in the clam

struggle and do not intend to let phrasemongers and dogmatists create barriers between our Party and the working class, and because we fully accept the Marxist position of the role of the working class in the struggle for socialism.

We reject such nonsense because we know that the only path to socialism is the path of struggle that starts at the point when the masses see their own self-interest. These struggles will correspond to the level of objective developments. We recognize that the process of objective developments and the experiences of the people in struggle will reach a point of qualitative change at the same time. We also recognize that such developments will awaken in the majority of the American people a desire to end capitalism and to place the country on the path to socialism.

Dogmatism and pseudo-leftism has a special appeal to some people. It appeals to "formalists," to people who deal with "neat little systems" and to people who feel secure only behind rigid fences constructed from dogmas. It appeals to people to whom the struggles and the considerations of life have become "too much" and too involved. It appeals to people who like to play at "heroics." It appeals to people who do not have a oneness with the working class, who do not accept the discipline of that class, and who do not, in fact, understand the historic driving motive of the working class. Dogmatism appeals to windbags who cover up with shallow theories and who play upon moods, mostly moods of pessimism. They take pleasure in using bombast and enjoy coining new phrases that have nothing to do with life's realities.

Of such people, Frederick Engels once said, "This philistine is a drainpipe in which all the contradictions of philosophy, democracy and every description of phrasemongering is mixed up in a monstrous manner."

As for our immediate problems, we must say that it is not only necessary to reject the nonsense of the dogmatist, but we also must give to the working class and people of our country a program which embodies our outlook on immediate issues and which indicates the road which we see as our country's path to socialism. We must draw a picture of what socialism will mean for the working class and the people of our land. We can demonstrate that the great capacities of the means of production and the role of

our people and nation for peace in world affairs will be enhanced under socialism.

There is very little mileage in discussing political concepts in a vacuum. There is much to be gained if such discussions are related to our own specific problems of struggles and movement. In this sense there are many areas of activity that need constant probing and fresh thinking.

In New Mass Currents

Experience in many fields brings out the fact that a new array of spectacular mass currents are developing which can affect the politics of our country. These mass currents are not always on the surface; but our own mass policy must be based on and serve to further develop these movements.

Without detailed elaboration let us consider the conference of 500 religious leaders, from all parts of the country, and an additional 500 persons from the Chicago area, called to consider religion and problems of racist discrimination. This conference was called in the name of the major religious bodies of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths which have a membership of over 75 million Americans. It produced a declaration and a program of activities which can be a major element in the struggle to eliminate racism from American life. It declared in part: "Racism is our most serious domestic evil. We desire to eradicate it with all diligence and speed."

There is a new quality as well as quantity to the struggles and movements to end all forms of discrimination and inequality against Negro Americans. The mass struggles of the Negro people continue at a steady pace. These struggles have won some very impressive electoral victories in the last elections. This new quality is seen in the great militancy and determination which pervades the Negro people's movement for equality. And now it is seen in the new awareness and awakening amongst white Americans as shown in the very militant struggles of the youth and now in the ranks of the churches. This is, indeed, very encouraging.

The working class and the trade unions are face to face with the most difficult of all problems. Automation is replacing human hands

at an alarming rate. The new machines increase speed-up to an inhuman pace. The gap between the size of the labor force and the number of jobs available, even during boom periods, is becoming ever wider. A new recession hovers on the horizon. Here is a very grave problem. But the big monopoly corporations, who are directly responsible for it, refuse to be diverted from their ugly quest for ever greater profits. They fight against unions, and the demand for a 35-hour week. They introduce automation and increase speed-up without any concern for the human element.

This big corporation drive for ever higher profits through automation and speed-up has now reached a critical point. It is forcing the working class to raise sharply the question that human rights are above property or profit rights. The right to earn a decent living is more important than any other right.

This situation has produced new currents in the trade union movement. There are some very determined strikes. These strikes in a basic sense are struggles over the very elementary human right to earn a living for millions of workers. If the present trend continues we are soon going to be a nation of a few very rich, a small minority of the population working, a small part of the farmers farming, and the bulk of our people on relief, living in semi-starvation on food stamp plans, pensions and unemployment insurance.

The working class must return to the basic concept that this country was never meant to be the private preserve of a few rich families. It was meant to provide life, liberty, and happiness to all. Our nation must be returned to the people who inhabit it.

There is a growing new generation of youth which has no possibility of being meaningfully employed.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council in a statement on February 21, 1963, on the Youth Employment Opportunities Bill, says, in part:

"In 1962, nearly 1 million youths 16 to 21 years old, who were in the market for jobs, were unable to find them. They represented nearly 20 percent of the total unemployed.

In addition to these one million unemployed young people, several hundred thousand more youths were compelled to

work part-time, because full-time employment was not available. Moreover, thousands more—indeed tens of thousands—were not only out of school and out of work; they were also out of the labor force—not even bothering to look for work because they had lost hope of finding jobs.

"This is truly a situation loaded with social dynamite, and one which time alone will not remedy. The number of new young workers entering the labor force is increasing steadily; by 1960, young people will be increasing the labor force at the rate of 3 million each year."

The doors of opportunity are almost completely closed to Negro youth and to Puerto Rican youth.

Big business which controls our economy, picks out the very few it needs and completely refuses to take any responsibility for the millions left high and dry. They say it is not their responsibility. But is it not correct and logical that a system which cannot provide a livelihood for our people must be discarded and replaced by one that does?

The steps taken by the government are feeble and stop-gap by nature. Here is a first rate problem—it requires a first rate solution.

Thus situation has started very deep-going currents amongst the youth. If they are not shown solutions in a progressive direction, there is the danger some of them can be misled into ultra-right and fascist channels.

Another major development has been the series of conferences and seminars within the United Auto Workers on the issue of peace. Since the Cuban events, the union leadership and representative delegates have had one conference on the question of jobs and peace, and a seminar which emphasized the role of the United Nations in the struggle for peace.

Also significant are the development within the Catholic church. One of the goals as stated by the Ecumenical Council in Rome is "to keep up with the age we live in and to turn to the future." Those Catholics who had been looking forward to the Council with the expectation that it would be a Council of anti-Communism "have been sadly disappointed," declared an authoritative Catholic writer. Yea, these are developments among Catholics

and Protestants which indicate new and positive approaches to the policy of peaceful coexistence. They are in their own way reflecting the problems of this "age of change."

Dogmatism rejects and ignores such mass currents. In fact, they have contempt for those who work with such movements.

The science of Marxism-Leninism lets us see these developments, but more than that, it gives us a deep knowledge of economic and political processes so that we are able to sense these currents in advance, before they come to the surface. It shows us the necessity of being in the midst of these developments, and part of them, in order to advance the interests of the working class.

In Electoral Activity

This also means that in the electoral arena we must get rid of all dogmatism and adopt much greater flexibility even though this may place us in sharp conflict with those of our friends who have been drifting into "Leftism" in election activity. This means that we recognize the fact that the masses of people are and will be functioning within the two-party system in the 1964 elections, and that their independent forms will be mainly within the Democratic party. Any work in the primaries and general elections requires attention now to all developments within the two major parties. That is where the peace candidates of 1964 will emerge and campaign for election. It is where the Negro and the labor candidates will function.

It must also be said that the peace candidates will make headway if they also include in their campaigns other issues which are vital to all Americans. Fortunately, some of the peace organizations are moving into political action with the objective of presenting various candidates who can win and who will have much to contribute to American politics.

This approach does not minimize the role of the Left and the need for independent electoral work. It only adds to the necessity of giving more attention to the development of independent and left electoral formations.

The Left has a purpose only if it has "something to do." There is nothing for it to do unless there are "problems." There are very few "problems" unless there is a broader movement. This is espe-

cially true in electoral activity which encompasses the whole spectrum of the anti-monopoly sentiments and movements.

Our history shows that the only successful new mass popular parties were those which came into being as a result of a split in the old parties. This fact must be borne in mind and we must give more attention to the way in which such a political upheaval might take place. First we must see that it can take place. In this new period many new forms are bound to develop. These forms and realignments are going to be direct responses to the movement and struggle of the people of our country.

In fact, what is new is that the mass movements of the Negro Americans for full equality, the diverse movements for world peace, the explosive upheavals of the youth, the constant pressures for labor's independent political action, and the activities rising in the ranks of the minority communities of the Puerto Rican and Mexican American peoples—are all converging on the political stage in a most dramatic way.

These mass movements are expanding and for the most part have their own independent electoral formations. But at this stage they are seeking ways of using the vehicle of the two-party system. The mass of Americans who are moving onto the political scene view the two-party system as a semi-governmental vehicle for electoral purposes. By and large, they are under the misapprehension that they can accomplish the full aims of their movements through one of the two parties as they now exist. What is a fact is that the old parties are not going to be able to fence themselves off from these new mass currents.

And so these developments present many serious dangers and "problems!" The politicians in the old parties, as usual, are going to demagogically attempt to use these currents. They will try to take them over, and try to steer them into "safe channels." There is a danger these movements will become watered down as they enter the arena of "bourgeois politics." These and many other "problems" will arise at this stage of electoral activities. But it seems to be an unavoidable stage, through which political development must go.

So the question all the Left and progressive elements must answer is: should we ignore this process, and so permit our people

to muddle through this experience without guidance or leadership, or should the advanced elements conduct their own independent Left activities, but as part of, and in close relationship to, these broad mass currents? It seems to us the answer is obvious. It is a difficult task. There are many pitfalls along this path, but the advanced elements cannot avoid this responsibility. It is the only outlook that can result in the growth of a meaningful Left current. Without such an outlook the Left will wallow in its own sectarian pseudo-left and stagnant pool.

It is the only outlook that can give meaning, in the future, to a people's party based on labor and the Negro people. That is another stage of this same broad development. But you cannot skip over the present stage any more than you can sit out the present stage in a Left isolation booth and expect to be in the leadership of the movement when it reaches the next stage.

For the advanced elements there is also a real danger that arises from the other direction. This is represented by people who see the work in the broad movements as the only electoral activity worth pursuing. Oh, they tip their political hats to the need for Left and independent activities, but in fact they reject it. They do so by over-stating the difficulty and the problems in developing Left and independent formations. They take no initiative and give no leadership to this work. After months of procrastination, they will say that it is "too late to do anything" except to tail behind events. This is in fact a cover for rank opportunism. It is a cover for a policy of no struggle, of tailism. And no system of individual contacts can meaningfully replace or be a substitute for Left and independent formations. What is needed are movements, committees, alliances, and not "manipulators." The idea that if we wait long enough there will be a spontaneous development of Left formations must be exposed as opportunism.

It must be made clear to all, that there can be no meaningful Left if it does not conduct its activities in close relationship to the broader currents; and there can be no meaningful work in the broader movements unless this is combined with a real struggle for the development of independent and Left electoral formations, alliances and candidates.

NATIONALISM AND DOGMATISM

In the minds of many, the question of how and why dogmatism took root in the leadership of some parties is a difficult question. I don't think we have all of the explanations. Some say it is because different countries have varied backgrounds. There is no doubt that is part of the answer. But this cannot be the main reason.

Some of the press speak about "have and have not" parties. This is an attempt to give Marxism and the Socialist countries the same status as that of an imperialist country in relation to a colonial country. That is a complete distortion of facts. We will have to look for a deeper explanation.

There are many other factors that can partially explain this development—there is the question of background and experiences, the relationship of one's own country in the world arena, specific domestic problems and developments, and the problem of not having all of the factual and political information about developments in crucial areas of the world. All of these can, to some extent, have an influence on one's assessment of objective reality.

But it seems that the above does not yet fully explain the sharpness of the disagreements.

I think that one of the weaknesses that has somewhat influenced the outlook of certain Marxist parties is the influence of narrow nationalism.

What is it that gives the relationship between socialist countries its unique quality?

What is it that gave the people of the Soviet Union whatever it was that made it possible for them to give and give, willingly and gladly, with a sense of dignity and comradeship? What was it that gave them pride in "doing without," thus being able to give to the new socialist countries many billions of dollars worth of materials?

What do the people of the Soviet Union and socialist countries feel that made them stand ready to die in Cuba?

What dominated the thinking of Communists in our country and those of other countries which prompted them to go to Spain to fight Franco fascism?

Yes, it is humanism, and the love for all mankind, but it is a humanism rooted in a working class ideology. It is a sense of class solidarity. It is proletarian internationalism.

There is no contradiction between the national interest of a country and proletarian internationalism. Thomas Jefferson in the days of the founding of our country, and Abraham Lincoln at a time of deep travail for our country, spoke in terms of internationalism while fighting for our national interests. However, it is only when this internationalism is expressed in the working class that it has its full meaning for the national interest. Proletarian internationalism and national interests merge and strengthen each other in the lands of socialism. Marxists must see and nurture both of these elements in the working class.

It seems that after certain Marxist parties became leaders of nations, the influences of narrow nationalism tended to weaken proletarian internationalism. These Marxist parties tended to see the rest of the world, including the socialist world, through the eyes of narrow nationalism.

Some covered this narrow nationalism with revisionism. Others covered it with dogmatism. But the outcome is a non-working class, non-Marxist ideology of nationalism. Narrow nationalism is the stunted offspring of the environment of only one's own nation.

Lenin was always very conscious of ideological influences. That is why he emphasized that in alliances, the working class and its ideology must be the dominant one. That is the guarantee against floundering and lack of perspective.

He clearly foresaw the difficulties that were to emerge in the building of socialism in areas where the working class was numerically small and did not have the benefit of the experience of long years of struggle. He foresaw the problems of fighting for a working class outlook, a working class ideology, in countries where the working class had not developed.

In his speech to the second All Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, he said: "You are now confronted with a task which has not previously faced Communists throughout the world: while relying on general Communist theory and practice, you must, by applying them to particular conditions which do not exist in European countries, know how to apply this

theory and practice in conditions when the vast mass of the people are the peasantry, when it is necessary to accomplish the task of the fight not against capital, but against survivals of the middle-ages."

In some countries, the peasantry is the dominant factor. In such countries, the Marxist parties will have to be alert and on guard; otherwise, they can be swept along by the influences of nationalism.

The Marxist parties of the imperialist countries must never, even for a moment, relax their vigilance. They must struggle against the constant pressure and influence of great-power chauvinism. This ideological influence on the people and, yes, on the working class of the imperialist countries is a most insidious enemy.

The 81-Party Statement did speak sharply against revisionism. This was necessary. It especially mentioned revisionism as it was reflected in the outlook of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

But it also stated that in some parties and at moments, dogmatic sectarianism can become the main danger. This was also very much to the point.

Political developments since this statement was written have not eliminated the need to struggle against both of these dangers. They have, however, raised the danger of dogmatism to a new level.

A correct assessment of the policies of one party cannot mean that it must remain so for all time. To insist on such a method is to deny the very nature of Marxism as a science. As this science reflects reality it tends to correct wrong conclusions. Life's struggles tend to correct erroneous concepts. What is the purpose of discussions or exchanges of opinions if one has the preconceived notion that it will not change anyone's thinking? So to dogmatically stick to a 1957 formulation, and to refuse to consider changes that have taken place, is again to deny the very life-like nature of the science of Marxism.

UNITY ON BASIS OF MARXISM-LENINISM

It is important that we conduct this discussion with full con-

confidence that the differences in the world Marxist movement will be healed. It is possible that if the world Marxists had conducted the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism in this spirit, the results would have been better for that party and for the whole world movement.

At the same time, we must say that in our own ranks we cannot have that kind of liberalism which destroys policy and makes our Party ineffective. Our Party cadre are called upon to support our Party's policy.

Much of the confusion which existed in and around the Left has lifted. A greater clarity has developed especially because the masses have appreciated the prevention of thermonuclear war over Cuba, and because Americans, for the first time, really felt the breath of the nuclear threat. The peace policy of the socialist lands, as expressed in the policy of peaceful coexistence, provided a background.

We are confident that experience and life will force many to take a second look at some mistakes which are at the root of the present discussion. All will realize the damage done by dogmatism, as well as revisionism, to the world Marxist movement and to the struggle for peace and socialism.

We are confident that unity will be restored on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and that it will be greeted, not only by us, who are partisan, but also by all anti-imperialists, including those who disagree with us on other issues.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The struggle to preserve world peace and to prevent a nuclear war, remains the most crucial of all issues. It is the central problem no matter from what vantage point one looks at the question. It has become most crucial from the viewpoint of making it possible to continue the progressive march of civilization without having to take "time out" to crawl back from generations of nuclear deformity and hostility. It is necessary to the struggle to preserve and to extend democracy. In peace, the socialist world and the newly liberated independent nations are a powerful influence in the struggle to end all forms of discrimination against Negro Amer-

icans. Peace is needed to end the cold war and all the burdens that flow from it. It is needed to achieve wage increases, tax cuts, and the 35-hour week. The struggle for peace is essential to win the struggle against imperialism. The struggle against colonialism and the struggle for world peace are currents of the same progressive stream.

How can any serious mind separate the struggle for world peace from the struggle to build and consolidate the world system of socialist nations?

The struggle for world peace is the struggle to give the peoples of the world an opportunity to take advantage of the new balance of world forces to move on to the path of socialist construction. It is a law of leadership of this epoch that any force that does not fight to preserve world peace and to prevent a nuclear catastrophe does not carry the moral prestige or the right to lead in the fight for a better world—to end colonialism, class oppression, for progress, or for socialism.

While the conclusion of the world Marxist movement on the non-inevitability of war in the present epoch is based on the present world relation of forces and this determines the actual possibility of a successful struggle for peaceful coexistence, the struggle against war is not a new stance for Communists.

In 1936 the hero of the Leipzig trials, the world Communist leader, Georgi Dimitroff, wrote

In addition to the openly reactionary leaders who disrupt the unity of action of the international proletariat in defense of peace there are also "Left" phrasemongers who propagate fatalistic views to the effect that war is inevitable and the maintenance of peace impossible. Since the fundamental cause of war is capitalism, then, they say, so long as the latter exists, it is impossible to avoid war, and it is hopeless and useless to fight for the maintenance of peace. Such people are out-and-out doctrinaires, if not simply imposters. They see everywhere around them the raging forces of war, but they do not at all notice the mighty factors for peace.

"Phrasemongering doctrinaires" depict matters as if the question of war and peace depends only on the capitalist

governments. Yes, this would be the case if the mass of the people were simply pawns in the hands of the governments and did not *fight* to maintain peace in spite of their governments. But that is just the point; it is radically wrong to regard the mass of the people as puppets in the hands of the government . . .

"The struggle for peace is a struggle against fascism, a struggle against capitalism, a struggle for the victory of socialism throughout the world!"

These are Marxist conclusions based on the objective realities of 1936. The forces of imperialism were then the dominant element in human affairs. But the new rising force of socialism in the Soviet Union was building and consolidating its positions. The people in the colonial countries were going through the skirmishes, preliminary to the flood-tide against imperialism. The working class in the capitalist countries was on the upward swing of struggles. The ideas of socialism were taking deep roots in many parts of the world. All these movements were closely linked to and moved along with the mass upheavals in the struggle for world peace and against fascism.

The struggles for independence and for socialism received great strength from the movements for peace and against fascism.

The shift in the world balance of forces was only developing then. But it was already reflected in Marxist concepts. Since then, and especially after the second world war, the scales have tipped. Now socialism serves over one billion people. The anti-imperialist revolutions have swept the colonial world. The working class in the capitalist world has become organized and has grown in political stature. There is a powerful peace movement in all parts of the world. It is this new force that now, more and more, dominates the direction of human events. Because of this shift, Marxism states: "it will take struggle and effort, but war is not now inevitable."

Because World War II did take place, were the efforts of the Communists to prevent it a mistake? One has only to reflect on the growth of the world system of socialist countries, the defeats to imperialism in the colonial world, and the historic growth of

the Communist parties in the capitalist countries to get one's answer.

Before World War II the shift in the relationship of world forces had not yet developed to the point where it was able to block the world rise of fascism and war. But the struggle against these evil forces contributed much to make the present balance of forces possible.

Unfortunately there are still some in the world Marxist movement who even today deny that war can be avoided on the ground that "whether or not the imperialists will unleash a war is not determined by us. We are not the chiefs of staff to the imperialists." This is where dogmatism and doctrinarism leads to.

Marxism as a science studies and reflects objective reality. Objective reality has changed. Marxism gives a clear explanation of these changes. Marxism provides the unifying over-all framework that makes it possible to understand the upheavals and eruptions that characterize this period. Marxism provides the outlook, the policies and the best possible tactics for the class struggle of this epoch.

We are convinced that the test of life will prove the Marxist outlook is correct. If, in the process of this test, we will find out that we have erred to one degree or another, we will openly and frankly study the errors and make corrections. This is how all sciences grow.

The shift in the world balance of forces was a result of the struggle against the rise of fascism and war. The struggle against these evil forces contributed much to make the present balance of forces possible. Unfortunately there are still some in the world Marxist movement who even today deny that war can be avoided on the ground that "whether or not the imperialists will unleash a war is not determined by us. We are not the chiefs of staff to the imperialists." This is where dogmatism and doctrinarism leads to.

Marxism as a science studies and reflects objective reality. Objective reality has changed. Marxism gives a clear explanation of these changes. Marxism provides the unifying over-all framework that makes it possible to understand the upheavals and eruptions that characterize this period. Marxism provides the outlook, the policies and the best possible tactics for the class struggle of this epoch.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

GUS HALL is the leading Communist spokesman in this country. During the past year he has spoken to thousands of students at colleges across the country and has been seen and heard by millions of Americans on television and radio.

Mr. Hall's advocacy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and his unqualified stand against thermonuclear war has received wide attention. His elaboration of Marxism-Leninism in relation to the American scene and his advocacy of a peaceful transition to socialism has seriously challenged the falsehoods and slanders made against Communists. In this pamphlet he discusses issues which are of importance to all Americans.

Mr. Hall served an eight-year sentence in Federal prison as one of the top leaders of the Communist Party on a frame-up charge under the fascist-like provisions of the Smith Act. He has also been under indictment on the "membership section" of the Smith Act since 1948, and is presently under bail and court restriction on that charge.

Together with Benjamin J. Davis, Mr. Hall is today facing trial for refusing to register the Communist Party under the odious definitions of the McCarran Act. They face possible sentences of up to \$60,000 in fines and thirty years imprisonment; their trial is now pending.

The case of the Communist Party is now before the Court of Appeals in a stand against the McCarran Act that is made in defense of the rights and constitutional liberties of all Americans.

Mr. Hall was born in Minnesota fifty-one years ago in a family of twelve. As a young man he became a trade union organizer and active in the socialist movement. He was a leader in the Little Steel Strike in Ohio, in 1937, and one of the founders of the United Steel Workers Union under the leadership of Phillip Murray. He served his country in the Navy during World War II.

He has run for public office, written and spoken as a Communist, and his pamphlets represent the authoritative view of American Communists. They include: *End the Cold War*, *The United States in Today's World*, *The Summit Failure*, *Our Rights To the Future*, *Peace Can Be Won*, and *Marxism and Negro Liberation*.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Stand for the Republic

January 31, 1963

Mr. Sam Romer
The Minneapolis Star
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Sam:

Thank you for being so kind to send
me an autographed copy of your book. I read it
with interest and would comment that it is an
objective story of our organization.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yk

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR
Evening
AND
THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

December 26 1962

Mr Harold J. Gibbons,
International Brotherhood
of Teamsters,
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.,
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a copy of the book, at long last
in print.

I can only hope that you will read it with some
pleasure and, despite our inevitable differences
over interpretation, you will find it a fulfillment
of my desire to write an objective, if candid,
study of the union.

I doubt that there ever will be sufficient demand
for a second edition, but I would be grateful,
nevertheless, if you would call my attention to
errors of fact which should be corrected.

With thanks for everything,

And best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Sam

Sam Komer.



John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

NEW YORK LONDON

440 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK 16 N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 9-7630

MARKETING DIVISION
A. H. NEILLY, JR.
VICE PRESIDENT

November 14, 1962

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Fund for the Republic
X
X

Mr. Harold Gibbons
Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
and Chauffeurs
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

On November 29, 1962 we are publishing nine separate books about nine different unions. One of the books is entitled THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS, ITS GOVERNMENT AND STRUCTURE by Sam Rorer of the Minneapolis Tribune. This series of books commissioned by the Trade Union Study of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and was supported by a grant from the Fund for the Republic.

We have been approached by two of the unions written about in this series. Both of them are interested in purchasing quantities of the book about their union, in fact one of them already has ordered 2000 copies. We would like to know if your union would be interested in a quantity purchase of the INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS, ITS GOVERNMENT AND STRUCTURE. If you are interested we will be happy to quote you our discount schedule if you will tell us in what quantity you would be interested. The book contains 192 pages and is scheduled to sell at \$2.95 per copy.

The book itself is not available as yet. However, I do have a set of galley proof that I could let you have if you are interested in reading what the book contains. If you will let me know I will send this set on to you.

Sincerely yours,

Belford R. McMillen
Belford R. McMillen, Manager
Trade and Industrial Sales

BIM:js

SEE ME 10 31 AM

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Fund for the Republic

X

X

March 2, 1961

Mr. Sam Roemer
4251 Sheridan Ave., So.
Minneapolis, 10, Minnesota

Dear Sam:

I have your recent letter and enclosed I am
sending you a copy of the Proposed Model Local Union
Bylaws. Attorney Bartosic is gathering the other
information you requested.

Very Truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yk
En c.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Fund for the Republic

4251 Sheridan Avenue S.,
Minneapolis 10, Minnesota

February 22, 1961

Mr. Florian J. Bartosic,
c/o Intl Brotherhood of Teamsters,
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bart:

I have agreed to present a paper in the Spring Meetings of the Industrial Relations Research Association concerning the relations between the international union and the Board of Monitors.

I had cut-off my research into the subject as of last August, and am writing you in the hope that in the subsequent litigation, there may have been a brief or document prepared which would adequately summarize more recent events. If any such document would serve this purpose, I would be very grateful if you could forward it to me. I would also appreciate it very much if you could list for me any recent articles or studies in this field which I may have missed.

I should tell you that the book is done -- except that now I must cut it down to size. I hope to get at it within the next few weeks.

With my best wishes, as always,

Cordially yours,

Sam.
Sam Romer.

① neg; Affiliates Litigation

② Handwritten note following neg

*Answered by phone call - Bartosic to
Romer - 2/13/61*

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Fund for the Republic

Central Conference -

Pension Fund

June 29, 1960

Mr. Francis J. Murtha, Executive Secretary
Central States Drivers Council
29 East Madison Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Frank:

See sent a copy of his letter to you dated June 23,
1960, to President Hoffa.

It is President Hoffa's wish that you provide Sam
with all available information.

Sincerely yours,

David Previant

DP/elb
cc: See Homer

From the Desk of:
JAMES E. HOFFA

San

Mr. Previant:

Would you tell Frank to forward the necessary material to Roemer.

I would suggest that we send him the original summary of history of Fund.

BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM * THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

TRADE UNION PROJECT

2034 University Avenue Berkeley, California Thornwall 1-4727

Please reply to: Sam Romer
4251 Sheridan Ave. S.,
Minneapolis 10, Minn.

June 23, 1960

Mr. James E. Hoffa, General President,
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.,
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

I thought you might want to see a copy of a letter I have written Frank
Murtha. I hope that the information will be available; it will be very
valuable.

It was good seeing you again the other week.

With best wishes, as always,

Cordially yours

Sam

Sam Romer.

Please reply to: Sam Rorer,
4251 Sheridan Ave. S.,
Minneapolis 10, Minn.

Mr. Frederic D. Worth, Executive Secretary,
Central States, Southeast and Southwest
Area Pension Fund,
25 East Madison Street, Room 401,
Chicago 2, Illinois.

June 23, 1960.

Dear Mr. Worth:

You will recall our exchange of correspondence last fall; in your letter of Nov. 24, you suggested that you could forward copies of the historical summaries submitted to the Douglas Committee when you received them; I hope you will be able to do so.

I have some other requests which I hope you will be able to answer within the limits of your policies on disclosure.

I would appreciate any information (including what printed material is available) on the structure of the funds -- their scope in terms of current beneficiaries and potential obligations, how they function (how often do the trustees meet, how many employees do the funds have, etc.), the degree to which the funds themselves participate in the actual administration of the health and welfare plan and/or the pension plan -- I assume that most of the administration is the responsibility of the carrier in the health and welfare plan. Is the pension plan self-insured or does it utilize the services of an insurance carrier?

If you can forward current financial statements for each of the funds, it would be very valuable.

Also, if such information is available for disclosure, I would be grateful for any data on the general nature of the fund's investments -- the proportion in real estate mortgages, corporate bonds, etc. etc.

One more question: Does the Michigan Conference of Teamsters Funds exist as separate units or have they been integrated into the area funds.

In closing, I will be very grateful for what help you can give me.

Cordially yours,

Sam Rorer.

cc: J. E. Hoffa.

BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM * THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

TRADE UNION PROJECT

2054 University Avenue Berkeley, California Thornwall 1-4727

February 10, 1960 ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Fund for the Republic
X
X

Mr. James Hoffa, President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jimmy:

Some time within the next few days you will receive an invitation from Hutchins to visit our Center at Santa Barbara. This grows from Sid Zagri's atopping in at the Center last week. I talked with Sid here in San Francisco about the projects which I once discussed with you.

I'll be in Washington March 7 and 8 and perhaps we can talk a little bit then if you're not too tied up in that trial.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Paul
Paul Jacobs

If
oelu 29

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fund for the Republic
X
X

November 21, 1958

C
O
P
Y

Mr. Robert Tilove
Martie E. Segel & Company, Inc.
3 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Bob:

Following are the facts you request in your communication of November 11th.

Michigan Conference of Democrats Welfare Fund purchased 8,000 shares of Montgomery-Ward in October of 1954 and the Automobile Transporters Welfare Fund of Michigan purchased 4500 shares in October of 1954. This is a total of 12,500 shares.

It was nice to hear from you.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons,
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yl

MARTIN E. SEGAL & COMPANY, INC.

Consultants

WELFARE, HEALTH AND PENSION PROGRAMS

THREE EAST FIFTY-FOURTH STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • PLAZA 1-4343

ROBERT TILOVE
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT

November 11, 1958

Mr. Harold J. Gibbons
Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers
of America
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Hal:

I have written a paper for the Fund for the Republic on the development of pension plans and the possible relation of their investments to corporate control or influence. I am in the course of editing the first draft of that paper and there is one respect in which I would like to have your help. In the course of discussing the various aspects of corporate influence through fund investments, I also take up very briefly the question of whether unions have displayed any interest of this kind. In that discussion, I make brief reference to the Montgomery-Ward proxy fight and the investment made by the Teamsters in Montgomery-Ward at that time. I am sending you the pages of the draft which are involved. (At this stage, this is a first draft which has been given only to a few individuals for their criticism.)

I make reference to 13,500 shares bought by "an employee trust fund". I would just like to make sure of my facts. I saw some other reports which referred to 12,500 shares and the newspaper reports that I referred to talk rather loosely about "welfare funds". I would like to get the specific fact about which fund or funds it was that made this investment.

If you can have these two small items furnished to me, I would appreciate the additional accuracy which it could add to this portion of the paper.

Sincerely yours,

RT

Robert Tilove

RT:r

of some of their contributing employers, assuming, of course, that everything was completely arranged: a trust agreement which permitted it, employer as well as union trustees who voted to approve it, and a mutual disregard for the security of the employees. The fact is that the unions have shown no inclination to try this potential.

There are some exceptions, but they are precisely the kind that prove the rule, in the sense that their contrast to common practice only reinforces the validity of the generalization.

The most notable case involved the Montgomery-Ward proxy fight in 1955. Beck and Hoffa of the Teamsters got an ^{Michigan L & W} employee trust fund to buy 13,500 shares of Montgomery-Ward. On March 31, 1955 Sewell Avery signed a contract with Beck covering 15,000 employees. The contract included a union security clause, to which Avery had expressed undying resistance. Almost immediately, Beck announced that the Union's proxies would be cast for Avery.

The conjunction of the two events could hardly have been a coincidence, although the 13,500 shares were a tiny percentage of the total vote: 0.2 percent in fact, and hardly worth Avery's bargaining for.

This is the closest that any union has come to negotiation via stock ownership by an employee benefit fund. And there does not appear to have been any other attempt on the part of the Teamsters at influence with an employer by buying into his stock.

A second example is equally unusual. The Alliance of Independent Telephone Unions owns a number of shares in A.T. & T., which it has used for over ten years to present resolutions at annual meetings to eliminate the deduction of one-half of the Social Security benefit from the A.T. & T. pension.

In proposals for sale of Colonial Air Lines to Eastern Air Lines, the employers solicited proxies through their Colonial Employees Mutual Fund, which they had formed for stock acquisition.⁽⁵⁸⁾

(58) Lewis D. and John J. Gilbert, Eighteenth Annual Report of Stockholder Activities at Corporation Meetings During 1957, New York, p. 252.

In a couple of isolated cases, financial help has been extended by union-management pension funds to employers who were in temporary distress. In one case, for example, a building was bought to avoid having a number of employers forced out of town by higher rents.

A few unions have taken a decided interest in applying pension fund money to social projects. The ladies garment workers and the New York electricians have applied such funds to low-cost housing for their members. In its 1958 negotiating demands, the United Auto Workers expressed a similar desire for "social purpose" investment.

The theoretical possibilities for union involvement were described, by an attorney familiar with proxy contests, at hearings before Senator Lehman in 1956.⁽⁵⁹⁾

During the 1955 contest for the control of Montgomery Ward, it was announced that a labor contract had been signed with one of the unions and that union had agreed to vote the corporation's shares held in its welfare fund in favor of the incumbent management. This points up a problem which can become increasingly important.

As the result of the increase in number and dispersion of corporate stockholders, large concentrated holdings can often wield the balance of power in a proxy contest. It can be expected that the large growth of union welfare funds will be accompanied by increased security holdings in important corporations. Both management and insurgents will attempt to enlist the support of the trustees or managers of these funds.

The power which will be concentrated in the hands of such trustees or managers may become so great that they will be able to control corporate policy and activities in ways that can affect the nature of our economy. Political, economic, and sociological problems are involved which require thorough study and investigation.

-
- (59) Edward Ross Aranow in Hearings before a Subcommittee on Corporate Proxy Contests of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 84th Congress, 1st Session, Part 3, 1956, p. 1647.
-

The magnitude of this potential is nicely matched by labor's current disinterest in its use.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fund for the Republic
Marshall, F. Ray
X

file

December 16, 1959

C
O
P
Y

Dr. F. Ray Marshall
4534 Poyeall Drive
Baton Rouge 9, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Mr. Hoffs has asked me to contact with you regarding your study of the racial practices of unions as requested in your letter of December 10. I will be happy to discuss this matter with you when you are in Washington.

Please let me know the date and the time you plan to be here and I will arrange my schedule to meet with you then.

Very truly yours,

Abraham Weiss,
Economist

AW:ft

Office of the General President

To: Al Weiss

From: James R Hoffa, General President

December 14, 1959
DATE

The attached letter , dated December 10, 1959 , from
F. Ray Marshall , Baton Rouge, La. is forwarded for
your attention and appropriate reply. Will you have
time to discuss this subject with Mr. Marshall ?

James R Hoffa,
General President

JRH:b

Wass

F. RAY MARSHALL
414 FLOYD DRIVE
BATON ROUGE 8, LOUISIANA

December 10, 1959

Mr. James Hoffa, President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs,
Warehousemen and Helpers of America
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

I am soliciting your help with a study of the racial practices of unions in the United States that I am making for the Trade Union Project of the Fund for the Republic. I would very much appreciate the benefit of your views on this subject if you can find a few minutes for me between December 28 - 30, when I plan to be in Washington. If you do not have time to talk with me, I would appreciate an opportunity to discuss this matter with someone else in your union.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

F. Ray Marshall

F. Ray Marshall, Consultant
Trade Union Project
Fund for the Republic

FRM:pm

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

*Fund for the Republic
x Romer, Sam
x Central Conference-
Pension Fund*

October 12, 1959

Mr. Francis J. Murtha, Exec. Sec.
Central States Pension Fund
29 E. Madison
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir and Brother:

Attached is another communication from Sam Romer.

You will recall I sent you a similar one on October 26th.
Jim is anxious to cooperate with this trade union project
of the Fund For The Republic, and I would like very
much to have your cooperation.

Fraternally yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yh
Enc.

BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM * THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

TRADE UNION PROJECT

2034 University Avenue Berkeley, California Thornwall 1-4727

Please reply to:

Sam Romer
4251 Sheridan Avenue South
Minneapolis 10, Minnesota

October 6, 1959

Mr. Harold Gibbons,
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.,
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I wrote Francis Murtha last August 27, asking for some date on the Central States and Michigan Conference funds, in line with my letter to you of August 20. So far, I have had no reply.

I would be very grateful if you or Jimmy, if you have any occasion to write or see Marthe, could remind him of my inquiry.

I hope you had a very successful general board meeting.

With my best wishes and regards to yourself, Jimmy, et al.

Cordially yours,

Sam

Sam Romer.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Frank J. Murtha
Central Conference -
Session 1

August 25, 1959

Mr. Francis J. Murtha, Exec. Sec.
Central States Pension Fund
29 E. Madison
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Frank:

The enclosed is self-explanatory.

Will you try to help on this.

Maternally yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/ya
Enc.

August 23, 1939

Mr. Sam Romer
4251 Sheridan Avenue S.
Minneapolis 10, Minnesota

Dear Sam:

I have your note of August 20th and would suggest that you get in touch with Francis J. Murthe, who is the Executive Secretary of the Central States Southeast and Southwest Area Pension Funds.

I am certain he will cooperate in getting the material you are seeking. I am sending him a copy of this letter in order that he will know that President Hoffa is cooperating with your study and approves of his supplying you with the material listed.

Sincerely yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yh
cc: Francis Murthe

Sam Humer
4251 Sheridan Avenue S.
Minneapolis 10, Minn.

August 20, 1959

Mr. Harold Gibbons,
Intl Bro of Teamsters,
25 Louisiana Ave. N.W.,
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Hal:

Can you arrange for me to get copies of the following documents:

Summary of the history of the Central States, Southeast,
and Southeast areas health and welfare fund
History of the development of the Michigan Conference
of Teamsters welfare fund.

Also, if you have reproduced any of the findings of the
Douglas committee relative to the Central States or
Michigan funds, I would appreciate having copies.

I also am interested in getting data on the current
financial condition of the Central States fund — Hoffa
told me to write to Chicago for it. Can you suggest
to whom and at what address I should write?

With best wishes, as always,

Cordially yours,

Sam

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

*Just for the
Republic*

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR
Evening
AND
THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

Sept 28 1959

Dear Harold:

I thought you might like to see some observations

I ended up with after the AFL-CIO convention.

My best, as always,

Sam

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Fund for the Republic

x

x

September 1, 1959

Mr. Paul Jacobs
Trade Union Project
2054 University Avenue
Berkeley, California

Dear Paul:

I have your letter of August 6th and have discussed
this matter with Jim, who feels that at this time,
we have to hold up on the items we discussed with
you.

Sincerely yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yh

BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM * THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

TRADE UNION PROJECT

2034 University Avenue Berkeley, California Thornwall 1-4727

August 25, 1959

Mr. Harold Gibbons
Teamsters International Union
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold,

As yet, I have heard nothing from Hoffa about the proposed studies we discussed here in San Francisco. We're having a meeting of our committee on the 26th of September, and if anything is going to be done, it will have to be discussed with them.

I just dropped Jimmy a reminding note, but perhaps you might follow it up.

Regards,

Paul
Paul Jacobs

pj/ja

16
BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM * THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

TRADE UNION PROJECT

2054 University Avenue Berkeley, California Thornwall 1-4727

August 25, 1959

Mr. James R. Hoffa
Teamsters International Union
25 Louisiana Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy,

Nu?

Paul

Paul Jacobs

P. S. If your Yiddish isn't good enough to cope with mine,
get Larry or Dick to translate for you.

MEMORANDUM

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Jacobs Paul
Fund for the Republic

2380 Vallejo Street
San Francisco 21, Calif.

Dear Jimmy,

Just a note to remind you of our phone conversation. We're going to have a meeting of the research advisory committee of our project in the middle of September and if we're going to do anything soon about the analyses, I'd like to discuss the questions with the committee members for their advice and suggestions.

As I told you, I'd be glad to meet you in NY, Wash., Chicago, etc. to talk about it with you. I'm going away next Tuesday, 2 Aug. 18th for about a week, so we'd have to meet after that time.

Regards to Dick and Larry. I know Hal is away on vacation. And you're still all wrong in thinking that the beat kids just need a bath and a job. They need lots more, just like the rest of us need lots more.

Yours for louder arguments,

Paul

Paul Jacobs

Press Intelligence, Inc.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

ROME (Ga.)
NEWS-TRIBUNE

Circ.: a. 12,191
S. 12,927

Front Page	Eds. Page	Other Page

AUG 6 1959

Date:

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

*Send for the
Republic*

X

Lip Service to Democracy

After studying the constitution of 70 unions, Leo Bromwich of the research staff of the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California, has concluded that union constitutions were written with "democratic intent," in the main.

But in his study published by the Fund for the Republic, Mr. Bromwich finds that these "democratic constitutions" don't necessarily give union members any say in how his union will be run and his money spent.

Bromwich, a lawyer, found that in practice the union president usually can dominate his executive board and the union conventions, can assure his own reelection to office, and can prevent his opponents in the union from telling their story in the union newspapers. Individual members' rights are often unprotected.

These conclusions will come as no surprise to newspaper readers familiar with

recent news stories on union affairs. The Steelworkers are in the process of expelling a member who ran for president against the incumbent — for the offense of running for office. Even the courts seem to be unable to dislodge Jimmy Hoffa. And the Machinists have expelled several members solely because they opposed a union political stand in an election, as every American has a right to do.

It is no surprise that union presidents who do not require membership approval to keep their jobs should prove to be unrepresentative of the feelings of the members they are paid to represent. This explains why poll after poll of member sentiment has shown majorities of union men and women opposing the public stands of their leaders.

And it emphasizes the need for a strong bill of rights for union members in any labor reform law that Congress may pass.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Fund for the
Republic
X

July 22, 1959

The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Sir:

I would like to order three copies each of the following
pamphlets and paper:

Economic Power and Free Society
Unions and Union Leaders of their Own Choosing
The Corporation and the Republic
Religion and the Free Society
A New Philosophy for Labor

Please bill our organization for the above.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yk

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

~~Administrative~~
Fund for the Republic
X

July 14, 1958

C
O
P
Y

Mr. Sam Romer
4251 Sheridan Ave. S.
Minneapolis 10, Minn.

Dear Sam:

I have your letter of July 8th and will look
forward to hearing from you on your arrival
to Washington, D. C.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons,
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yh

4251 Sheridan Ave S.
Minneapolis 10 Minn.

July 8, 1956

Dear Hal:

My present plans are to get to Washington
by July 23 or 24 and to spend approximately
three weeks there.

I will call you or Jake as soon as I get in.

I am looking forward to seeing you.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Sam Rumer

Mr. Harold Gibbons
Intl Bro of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Ave N.W.
Washington 1, D. C.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Trade Union Project
X Fund for the Republic
X Jacobs, Paul

June 22, 1959

C
O
P
Y

Mr. Paul Jacobs
Trade Union Project
2054 University Ave.
Berkeley, California

Dear Paul:

President Hoffa and I will both be in San Francisco on July 6th and will probably remain through the 10th. We will be staying at the Fairmont Hotel.

Jimmy asked me to send you the above information.

Very truly yours,

M. J. Gibbons,
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/js

BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM * THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

TRADE UNION PROJECT

2054 University Avenue Berkeley, California Thornwall 1-4727

June 17, 1959

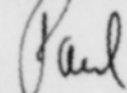
Mr. James Hoffa
25 Louisiana Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim:

My plans for going away in July have been changed and I now will be here on the 7th when you speak at the Western Conference of Teamsters. I'd very much like to see you for a bit and talk over a couple of things, including one we discussed in Washington the last time I saw you. I also want to do a story on the transportation conference. I'd appreciate it if you'd drop me a note and let me know where you'll be staying. From past experience, I know what a rat race it is for you. My office phone is THornwall 1-4727 and my home phone is WALnut 1-1015.

I'm looking forward to seeing you.

Cordially,



Paul Jacobs

oeiu 29
afl-cio

BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM * THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

TRADE UNION PROJECT

2054 University Avenue Berkeley, California Thornwall 1-4727

June 17, 1959

Mr. Harold Gibbons
25 Louisiana Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C.

Dear Hal:

Are you coming to San Francisco with Hoffa in July?

I had thought I was going to be away, but my plans have changed and I now discover I'll be here. There are a couple of things I'd like to discuss with you. I've also dropped a note to Jimmy saying I'd like to see him as well. Where will you be staying if you come? My office phone number is THornwall 1-4727 and my home phone, WALnut 1-1015.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Paul
Paul Jacobs

ceiu 29
afl-cio

6/10/59
Copy of a letter to
Eirian Mohan not return
for file's

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Fund for the
Republic

X

June 9, 1959

Mr. Sam Roemer
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Sam:

Thank you for your letter of June 5th.

The Conventioe hotel for the meeting of the Western
Conference of Teemeters is the Fairmont Hotel,
San Francisco, California.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJO/yk

Consultants on the Basic Issues:

A. A. Berle, Jr.
Scott Buchanan

Eugene Burdick
Eric F. Goldman
Clark Kerr
Henry R. Luer

John Courtney Murray, S.J.
Reinhold Niebuhr
Isidor I. Rabi
Robert Redford

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC • BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM

June 5, 1955

**Trade Union Project
Research Advisory Committee**

Clark Kerr,
Chairman
Benjamin Aaron
S. M. Lipset
Walter Galenson
Norman Jacobson
Philip Schlesick
W. Willard Werts
Paul Jacobs,
Staff Administrator

Mr. Harold Gibbons,
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

As I told you on the phone yesterday, the project is moving along at a nice pace. I finally have buckled down to the writing task and already have written some 17,000 words; the rest of the book is clearly outlined in my mind and I do not anticipate any great difficulties in finishing it on schedule. I gave Jimmy a general outline of my ideas on the book when I saw him recently on his stopover in Minneapolis.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter to Einar Mohn.

I am looking forward to seeing you in San Francisco. Can you let me know which is the conference hotel so that I can make my own reservations.

Eina probably will accompany me to San Francisco (I plan to drive) but go to Los Angeles during the conference itself to visit relatives. I then propose to drive back to Washington with possible stopovers at St. Louis and Chicago -- but I will discuss these with you when I see you again.

As always,

Cordially,

Sam

*Board of Directors
The Fund for the Republic*

Elmo Rogers, Chairman
George N. Shuster
Vice-Chairman
Harry S. Ashmore
Bruce Catton

Charles W. Cole
Russell L. Dearnmont
Erwin N. Griswold
Oscar Hammerstein, II
Paul G. Hoffman
Robert M. Hutchins
William H. Joyner, Jr.
Meyer Kettenbaum

Mrs. Francis J. Lally
Herbert H. Lehman
M. Albert Linde
J. Howard Marshall
Jubal R. Parton
Alicia Patterson
Eleanor B. Stevenson
Henry Pitney Van Dusen

BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM * THE FUND FOR

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fund for the Republic
THE REPUBLIC, INC.

X

TRADE UNION PROJECT

2034 University Avenue Berkeley, California Tharnwall 1-4727

May 15, 1959

Mr. James Hoffa
2741 Trumbull Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

Washington Address:
25 Louisiana Avenue, NW

Dear Jimmy,

Probably you're such a big shot now what with your picture on LIFE's cover and the CBS show that you won't have time for older critics like me. But I want to pass on something to you that might be very interesting to the Teamsters. You may remember that when I saw you in Los Angeles I talked about the TV show. I brought up the question of the farm workers with you. I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum for a study of the effect of wages upon large scale and small sized farming. As you can see, the man who wants to do the study is being sponsored by the Public Affairs Institute, a highly respectable operation in Washington. I think it might be worth putting some money into. Walter Simcich has a very good reputation in this field and I'm sure the study would be worthwhile. He has already raised some money but still needs a good deal more if he is going to take on the assignment.

Incidentally, he is also interested in working for the Teamsters and he might be very useful to you out here on the West Coast. You can get a rundown on him from Leon Schacter or Joe Ollman of the Packing House Workers.

I'm going to be in Washington on Tuesday and I'll give you a ring at the office -- maybe we can chat a bit if you're in town. By the way, your future biographers certainly all owe a debt to the quotations you gave me in the Reporter piece. Every time I turn around it seems to me another magazine or book is using them.

Best regards.

Sincerely,
Paul
Paul Jacobs

oeiu 29
afl-cio

531 Monker Avenue
San Jose, California
April 6, 1959

Dear Sir:

The Public Affairs Institute, a nonprofit tax-exempt research and educational organization, is undertaking research to determine the effect of low wages paid to hired farm workers on large-scale farms upon the value of the competing family farmers' own labor.

Funds are urgently needed for this study which holds perhaps the only real promise for the two million agricultural workers and their families who occupy the lowest rung of our economic ladder. We hope you can participate in its financing. Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

Our national farm labor policy has been based on the assumption that extension of standard social legislation such as the national minimum wage law to this group would result in almost universal disaster for agriculture, and particularly for the family farmer.

As a result, the minimum wage law, unemployment compensation, and the like do not apply to this sizeable group of workers.

Since agricultural workers in 1958 averaged wages of about 75¢ an hour, with total annual earnings well under \$900, there is an urgent need for assembling the evidence and evaluating the assumptions on which present policies are founded.

In very many commodities, there appears to be a substantial question as to whether the competitive advantage of the large-scale operations over the modern commercial-sized family farm is in fact based on actual "efficiencies of scale" or whether it is due largely to simple exploitation of cheap labor.

If it could be shown that higher wages would in the main precipitate greater caution and control regarding volume of production, thereby increasing farm prices and the monetary value of the working farmers' own labor, the economic rationale on which our national farm labor policy rests could be completely altered.

Such a modified understanding of the economics of this issue would be most important from the standpoint of its potential in changing attitudes within our farm communities. Without such changed attitudes, it is thoroughly unreasonable to expect significant improvements in our national farm labor policy.

The primary focus of the study would be to analyze existing production patterns for representative commodities along the following lines:

- 1/ Percentage of total production of a commodity coming from farms of different sizes.
- 2/ Total per unit out-of-pocket production costs of a given commodity for farms of different sizes.

- 3/. The relative importance of hired labor costs in total out-of-pocket production costs, showing the contrast by size of farm.
- 4/. The impact on out-of-pocket production costs for different-sized farms of a higher farm wage level which might be brought about by minimum wage legislation.
- 5/. Whether such higher costs would be likely to result in accelerated technological developments or whether the necessary adjustments would take place in the form of production reduction and marketing changes aimed at yielding higher farm prices.
- 6/. If accelerated mechanization seemed a likely result in a given commodity, whether the prevailing circumstances left a way open to maintaining family farms on a sound economic basis through some method such as co-operative use of equipment and facilities.

In essence then, the study has the potential of showing the way for major policy changes which could have a profound impact upon the well-being of both family farmers and agricultural workers. Inasmuch as the great bulk of our hired farm workers are either Negro or Mexican-American, the ultimate implications of such policy changes are obvious in the human relations area both nationally and in our relationships with Latin American as well as non-white peoples.

The undersigned has discussed this study recently with many national leaders who have long been concerned over the well-being of the several groups directly involved. A partial list of such leaders who have extended formal support includes:

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt - Frank P. Graham - Norman Thomas
James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union
U. S. Senators Hubert Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy
Calif. Congressmen James Roosevelt and Clement Miller
H. L. Mitchell, President, National Agricultural Workers Union
Father Donald McDonnell, Director of California's Catholic Rural Life Conf.

The importance attached to this study is further attested to by the active assistance received from many others such as Congressman George Higgins, Clarence Pickett, Roger Baldwin, Gardner Jackson, and Fay Bennett of the Natl. Sharecroppers Fund.

The Institute has accepted the undersigned as a qualified person to conduct the study over an eighteen month period. The undersigned has for the past five years been engaged in agricultural economics research. Previously he has studied economics at Antioch College and in other professional employment.

The budget of \$25,000 covers publication costs, salaries (research and ~~educational~~), and various field and office expenses.

Funds should be contributed to the Public Affairs Institute and designated for "Project Farm Wages". They are to be devoted entirely to the Project's budgeted needs. ~~It~~ assumes overhead costs and will make periodic reports to donors on disbursements. Disbursements will be audited, as are other PAI accounts, by a licensed firm of certified public accountants.

Sincerely yours,

Walter Simoich
Walter Simoich, Project Consultant
PUBLIC AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM * THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

TRADE UNION PROJECT

2054 University Avenue Berkeley, California Thornwall 1-4727

May 15, 1959

Mr. Harold Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
Local 668
St. Louis, Missouri

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Send to the Republic

Washington Address: 25 Louisiana Ave., NW

Dear Hal:

I've just written Jimmy about a proposal to do a study of the relation between farm wages and farm operations. I am enclosing a copy of the proposal and I think you might give serious consideration to helping support it. I also told Jimmy that Simcich might be interested in going to work for the Teamsters. He seems to be a pretty good man, and you might do a lot worse.

I'll be in Washington on Tuesday and will give you a ring at the office.

Best regards,

Paul
Paul Jacobs

cc:lu 29
Enclosure

531 Lorber Avenue
San Jose, California
April 6, 1955

Dear Sir:

The Public Affairs Institute, a nonprofit tax-exempt research and educational organization, is undertaking research to determine the effect of low wages paid to hired farm workers on large-scale farms upon the value of the competing family farmers' own labor.

Funds are urgently needed for this study which holds promise the only real promise for the two million agricultural workers and their families who occupy the lowest rung of our economic ladder. We hope you can participate in its financing. Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

Our national farm labor policy has been based on the assumption that extension of standard social legislation such as the national minimum wage law to this group would result in almost universal disaster for agriculture, and particularly for the family farmer.

As a result, the minimum wage law, unemployment compensation, and the like do not apply to this sizeable group of workers.

Since agricultural workers in 1950 averaged wages of about 75¢ an hour, with total annual earnings well under \$900, there is an urgent need for assembling the evidence and evaluating the assumptions on which present policies are founded.

In very many commodities, there appears to be a substantial question as to whether the competitive advantage of the large-scale operations over the modern commercial-sized family farm is in fact based on actual "efficiencies of scale" or whether it is due largely to simple exploitation of cheap labor.

If it could be shown that higher wages would in the main precipitate greater caution and control regarding volume of production, thereby increasing farm prices and the monetary value of the working farmers' own labor, the economic rationale on which our national farm labor policy rests could be completely altered.

Such a modified understanding of the economics of this issue would be most important from the standpoint of its potential in changing attitudes within our farm communities. Without such changed attitudes, it is thoroughly unreasonable to expect significant improvements in our national farm labor policy.

The primary focus of the study would be to analyze existing production patterns for representative commodities along the following lines:

- 1/. Percentage of total production of a commodity coming from farms of different sizes.
- 2/. Total per unit out-of-pocket production costs of a given commodity for farms of different sizes.

- 3/. The relative importance of hired labor costs in total out-of-pocket production costs, showing the contrast by size of farm.
- 4/. The impact on out-of-pocket production costs for different-sized farms of a higher farm wage level which might be brought about by minimum wage legislation.
- 5/. Whether such higher costs would be likely to result in accelerated technological developments or whether the necessity a justness could take place in the form of production reduction and a rising charges aimed at yielding higher farm profits.
- 6/. If accelerated mechanization is a real and likely result in a given commodity, whether the prevailing circumstances are likely to be open to maintaining family farms on a sound economic basis through some method such as co-operative use of equipment and facilities.

In essence then, the study has the potential of showing the way for major policy changes which could have a profound impact upon the well-being of both family farmers and agricultural workers. Inasmuch as the great bulk of our hired farm workers are either Negro or Mexican-American, the ultimate implications of such policy changes are obvious in the human relation area both nationally and in our relationships with Latin American as well as non-white peoples.

The undersigned has discussed this study recently with many national leaders who have long been concerned over the well-being of the several groups directly involved. A partial list of such leaders who have extended formal support includes:

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt - Frank P. Graham - Norman Thomas
James O. Patton, President, National Farmers Union
U. S. Senators Hubert Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy
Calif. Congressmen James Roosevelt and Clement Miller
H. L. Mitchell, President, National Agricultural Workers Union
Father Donald McDonnell, Director of California's Catholic Rural Life Conf.

The importance attached to this study is further attested to by the active assistance received from many others such as Congressman George Higgins, Clarence Rickett, Roger Baldwin, Calder Jackson, and Paymaster of the Natl. Suretyship Fund.

The Institute has accepted the undersigned as a qualified person to conduct the study over a sixteen month period. The undersigned has for the past five years been engaged in agricultural economic research. Previously he has studied economics at Antioch College and in other research employment.

The budget of \$25,000 covers publication costs, salaries (research and educational), and various field and office expenses.

Funds should be contributed to the Public Affairs Institute and designated for "Project Farm Wage". They are to be devoted entirely to the Project's budgeted needs. All expenses overhead costs and all other reports to donors on disbursements. Disbursements will be audited, as are other A.I. accounts, by a licensed firm of certified public accountants.

Sincerely yours,

Walter Simeich, Project Consultant
PUBLIC AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

Consultants on the Basic Issues: Eugene Burdick, John C. Crow, Murray S.J., Eric F. Goldman, Ben V. de Vries, Jr., Charles Kerr, Hubert I. Rubin, Henry R. Luce, Robert Reddick

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC • BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM

60 East 44th Street, New York 17, N.Y. MUra, Hll 2-1250

251 Sheridan Avenue S.,
Minneapolis 10, Minnesota
May 5, 1959.

Trade Union Project
Research Advisory Committee

Clark Kerr,
Chairman
Buckley Adams
R. M. Lippert
Walter Gellman
Philip Schattsch
W. Willard Wines
Paul Jacobs,
Staff Administrator

Mr. H. J. Gibbons,
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.,
Washington 1, D. C.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fund for the Republic
X Remo, June 4

Dear Hal:

As of May 3, I have taken formal leave from the Minneapolis Tribune in order to work on the study of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters I have undertaken for the Fund for the Republic.

I am now engaged in bringing some semblance of order to my accumulated notes of the past year -- a process which I hope to complete in about two weeks. I propose then to return to Washington to begin field studies -- mainly a series of personal interviews with staff members of the International Union.

I am looking forward to seeing you shortly and to working with you.

Cordially yours,

San Romer.

cc: James McCarthy

Board of Directors
The Fund for the Republic

Elmo Roper, Chairman
George N. Shuster
George C. Johnson
Harry S. Ashmore
Bruce Catton

Charles W. Coe

Wesley L. Beaumont
Ewan N. Griswold
Oscar Hansen, II
Paul G. Hoffman
Robert H. Jackson
William H. Joyce, Jr.
Meyer Kestelbaum

Major Francis J. Lally

Herbert H. Johnson
M. Albert Larson
J. Howard Marshall
Joshua B. Parten
Alex Patterson
Thomas B. Stewart
Henry Thayer Van Dusen

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Bill for the Republic

✓ Romer, Sam

✓ Jacobs, Paul

August 19, 1958

Mr. Sam Romer
4251 Sheridan Avenue S.
Minneapolis 16, Minnesota

Dear Sam:

I have your letter of August 18th. At the present time, I'm not in any position to set up any definite dates when I will be available to spend some time with you.

As you know our schedule is pretty much tied up during the McClellan Committee hearings. Perhaps after the middle of September, I'll be in a better position to give you a definite date.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibson,
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yk

C O P Y

Consultants on the Basic Issue: Eugene Burdick, John Courtney Murray, S.J., Reinhold Niebuhr, Erik F. Goldman, Isidor I. Rabi, A. A. Auer, Jr., Clark Kerr, Robert Redfield, Scott Buchanan, Henry R. Luce

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC • BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM

61 East 41st Street, New York 17, N. Y. Murray Hill 2-1254

4251 Sheridan Avenue S.,
Minneapolis 10, Minnesota

August 18, 1958

Trade Union Project
Research Advisory Committee

Mr. H. J. Gibbons,
Executive Assistant to the
General President,
Intl Bro of Teamsters,
25 Louisiana Ave., N.W.,
Washington 1, D. C.

Clark Kerr,
Chairman
Benjamin Aaron
S. M. Lipset
Walter Galenson
Philip Schlesick
W. Willard Wirtz
Paul Jacobs,
Staff Administrator

Dear Hal:

I am sorry not to have seen you in Washington but I envied you your trip abroad.

As you know, I spent some two weeks at ITR headquarters, almost all of it devoted to the study of old constitutions, proceedings and official journal. I owe special thanks to Jake McCarthy and Jim Casey of Mr English's office -- they were very good to me.

By now, almost all of my preliminary studies for background and history are out of the way; I am getting to the meat of the project -- personal interviews with ITR leaders both at policy and staff levels. I would like, if I could begin with yourself -- both because of your position in the president's office and because of your extensive knowledge of the union's administration.

I know that you are being kept very busy these days but this is not a rush order. Perhaps we can sandwich it in when you next come to Chicago (or even Minneapolis). What I would like to do is spend several hours with you but perhaps we could accomplish this over a longer period if you would let me call with you in the off-moments between your normal order of business. Another possibility is our spending a week-end together, although I hesitate to impose on what little free time you have. Will you let me know when any of these are possible?

I would like to talk with you before I sit down with the others. I may have some suggestions; my present list includes Hoffa and English, Beck and McNamara and Tom Flynn. Then some time with a key person in Mr. English's office; administrative chit-chat with

Board of Directors
The Fund for the Republic
Elliott R. Brown, Chairman
George N. Shuster
Vice-Chairman
Harry S. Ashmore
Robert M. Harkins
William H. Jones, Jr.
Meyer Lubshain
Beverly L. Brown
Michael L. Brown
J. Howard Marshall
John R. Parnell
Alicia Patterson
Eleanor B. Stevenson
Henry Finney Van Dusen
Charles W. Cole
Frank L. Dunham
Edward N. Grossfeld
Oswald Hammerstein, II
Paul G. Hoffman
Robert M. Harkins
William H. Jones, Jr.
Meyer Lubshain
Major Francis J. Lally
Herbert L. Latham
Michael L. Brown
J. Howard Marshall
John R. Parnell
Alicia Patterson
Eleanor B. Stevenson
Henry Finney Van Dusen

H. J. Gibbons - Page 2

people like Larry Steinberg and Kavar, and with department heads like Jamie McCarthy, Weiss, etc. I am sure that I can get a comprehensive picture of regional conference operations from yourself and Mohr but I also would like to talk with representative directors of national time conferences, company-wide conferences, etc.

I am sure you will be pleased to know that I've finally become quite excited about what I'm doing with this project. I have had some misgivings about an over-emphasis on headlines but these now have vanished and I'm convinced I can come out with a solid piece of writing.

I am looking forward to seeing you. As always,

Cordially yours,

✓ HJA
Sam Homer.

Consultants on the Basic Issues: Eugene Borlick, John Courtney Murray, S.J.,
Herold N. Saltsch, Richard H. Lehman
A. A. Berlin, Jr., Eric F. Goldman, M. Albert Linton
Scott Buchanan, Clark Kerr, J. Howard Marshall
Henry B. Luce, Robert Feinold, Alicia Patterson

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC • BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y. MUrray, Tel 2-1250

4251 Sheridan Avenue S.,
Minneapolis 10, Minnesota

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Back for the Republic

- X Roman, Sam

- X Jacobs, Paul

Trade Union Project
Research Advisory Committee

Mr. Harold Gibbons,
Intl Bro of Teamsters,
25 Louisiana Ave., NW,
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Clark Kerr,
Chairman
Benjamin Aaron
B. M. Lipert
Walter Galenson
Philip Schick
W. Willard White
Paul Jacobs,
Staff Administrator

By this time, I've pretty well shaped up the idea of the book on the union. I have agreed to write under fund for the Republic auspices. It will be primarily a study of the government and administration of the nation's largest labor organization, although I hope to make it more than an arid, academic thesis. I am quite determined, of course, that it will not be a journalistic reshuffle of the recent headlines but I would suppose that this kind of publicity may excite a wider interest in the realistic story of how a union governs itself.

I have spent much of my spare time in the past few months doing what reading I can here -- especially Hill, Leiter and the various magazine pieces. I hope to take some time off from the paper this summer and get down to Washington and elsewhere for an intensive study of primary union documents, especially the Teamsters Journal over the years and proceedings of the various conventions. Later, I hope to supplement this with a series of interviews with individual union leaders.

Gov. Freeman has called a special session of the legislature to extend jobless benefits which means that I won't be able to break away from here until sometime in July. I don't suppose there will be any difficulties about my examining the Journal and proceedings, etc. However, I hope that you or Jake are planning to spend all or part of the summer in Washington; it would be good to see you and spend some time together.

Cordially yours,

Sam Roman

P.S. I am enclosing clips of the stories I did about the Office Workers and the Montgomery Ward settlement.

Board of Directors
The Fund for the Republic
Elmo Rogers, Chairman
George N. Shuster
Victor G. Steinmetz
Harold S. Adams
Bruce Catton
Charles W. Cole
Russell L. Deamont
Erwin N. Griswold
Oscar Hammerstein, II
Paul G. Hoffman
Robert M. Hutchins
William H. Jones, Jr.
Meyer Kestelbaum
Maggie Francis J. Lally
Herbert H. Lehman
M. Albert Linton
J. Howard Marshall
Joshua B. Partin
Alicia Patterson
Eleanor B. Stevenson
Henry Finney Van Dusen

Wards Agrees on 5-Year Pact With Teamsters, Retail Clerks

By SAM ROMER
Minneapolis Tribune Staff Writer

Montgomery Ward and Co., national mail order and retail store firm, Monday agreed on a five-year wage contract with both the Teamsters and the Retail Clerks International union.

The Clerks union has been on strike against the firm since Jan. 8, picketing about 500 stores across the country. The Teamsters contract expires this week.

THE NEW PACT affects about 50,000 employees, including about 22,000 represented by the Teamsters and another 9,000 represented by the Clerks.

Announcement of the contract was made in Chicago Tuesday by James R. Hoffa, Teamsters president, and James A. Suffridge, Retail Clerks president. Hoffa said the pact included wage increases, a cost-of-living clause and a modified union shop.

As significant as the end of the Retail Clerks strike was the news that the Teamsters and Clerks—often at odds within the labor movement—had negotiated jointly with the company.

MEANWHILE, Hoffa disclosed that he had begun conversations with another old labor foe—the Brewery Workers union—in an effort to end a half-century feud between the Teamsters and Brewery Workers.

In both cases, the Retail Clerks and Brewery Workers are AFL-CIO unions—unions which voted last December to expel the Teamsters from the merged labor movement.

The surprising co-operation between the Teamsters and their traditional enemies could result in Hoffa's winning his campaign to prevent isolation of the Teamsters from the labor movement. It also could mean giant

organizing strides in the white-collar field—especially in department stores—where the feud between the Teamsters and Retail Clerks has prevented effective organizing campaigns.

LAST WEEK, the Teamsters signed a mutual assistance and joint organizing pact with the Office Employees International union—another area of white-collar employment also untouched by unionism.

Hoffa's conversations with the Brewery Workers so far have not resulted in any agreement or commitments—but these may be in the gaining activities.

An announcement by Hoffa's office in Washington disclosed that he and Roy Schoessling, Chicago, secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters brewery division, had met in New York May 13 and 14 with Karl F. Feller, Brewery Workers president, and

James Paradise, general counsel for the brewery union. **HOFFA SAID** merely that the meeting was held "to seek ways of developing mutual co-operation. Another meeting is scheduled in June."

However, informed sources among the Brewery Workers said a "non-binding" pact is essential before the two unions can co-ordinate bargaining activities.

Office Employees Union Forms Pact With Teamsters

By SAM KUDER 5/22/1958

Minneapolis Tribune Staff Writer

Copyright 1958 Minneapolis Inc. and Tribune Company

The Office Employees International union has joined with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in a national pact for mutual assistance and joint organizational campaigns.

Howard Coughlin, international president of the AFL-CIO white-collar union, told the Minneapolis Tribune Wednesday that the union's executive board had approved the pact unanimously at its current meeting in Phoenix, Ariz.

He predicted it would result "in tremendous organizational strides toward the unionization of white-collar workers in the United States and Canada."

However, such a pact has far wider implications than the alignment of a tiny 30,000 member union along side of the mammoth Teamsters organization.

IT REPRESENTS a significant victory for James R. Hoffa, Teamsters president, in his campaign to secure for his union an unquestioned place in the labor movement despite its expulsion from the AFL-CIO.

This is because such a pact is the first between an AFL-CIO affiliate and the Teamsters since the latter organization was expelled last December from the AFL-CIO.

In effect, it forces President George Meany of the AFL-CIO towards a decision he thus far has avoided—whether the Teamsters will be treated by the merged labor movement as an outcast or whether its expulsion from AFL-CIO will be dismissed as a necessary evil which need not interfere with normal interunion relationships.



Coughlin

WHEN EXPELLED, the Teamsters had six mutual assistance pacts already in effect with AFL-CIO unions—including such major organizations as the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

Meany has made no attempt to prevent these pacts from continuing in operation—probably because any move on his part would result in a serious division within the AFL-CIO executive council.

But the signing of a new pact—if accepted by Meany without protest—would present a green light to other unions to make similar deals with the Teamsters.

Meany himself has made it clear in the past that he regards any alliance between an AFL-CIO affiliate and an expelled union as a violation of the AFL-CIO constitution with the offender subject to expulsion.

HE INVOKED the constitution last year successfully to prevent a mutual assistance pact between the Teamsters and the expelled inter-

national Longshoremen's Association. Coughlin said he would obviously not awakened re- viving Teamsters representa-

condly in the face of the fact that the Teamsters had not expelled a union. He said he expected a ban to result in the AFL-CIO and "create the existence of the union's board."

For instance, top AFL-CIO leaders last week met in a maritime office and last week began conversations with both Hoffa and Captain William Bradley, president of the port-

cast I.L.A., looking toward in- dustry-wide cooperation be- tween both the AFL-CIO and expelled unions.

MEANY DENIED that he knew of such a trading in advance and said he would not have approved of it. But the meeting was held and further ones are scheduled.

Coughlin told the Tribune he had met with Harold Halpern, Teamsters vice president and Hoffa's execu-

out details of the agree- ment. However, the dependence of the Teamsters for economic strength was great enough to say that the Office at the AFL-CIO convention

loyes "accepted an offer" for the union to be one of

le by the Teamsters and the few to work against ex-

at long organization cam-

paign.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

fund for the Republic

X Radtke, Sam

X Jacobs, Paul

February 19, 1958

Mr. Sam Romer
Minneapolis Star
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Sam:

Thank, for the copy of your story on the Monitors.
I have as yet not seen the Kerr pamphlets, but I expect they
will be here shortly. I am in the process of reading the three
articles in the New Leader dealing with the matter of democracy
in unions including Summers article.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons,
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yk

COPY

Consultants on the Basic Issues:

Eugene Burlick
Eric F. Goldman
Clark Kerr
Henry R. Love
Robert Redfield

John Courtney Murray, S.J.
Reinhold Niebuhr
Isidor I. Rabi
Robert Redfield

A. A. Berke, Jr.
Scott Buchanan

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC • BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM

Trade Union Project
Research Advisory Committee

Clark Kerr,
Chairman
Benjamin Aron
S. M. Lipset
Walter Glusman
Norman Jordan
Philip Schickel
W. Willard Wines
Paul Jacobs,
Staff Administrator

February 17, 1958

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Fund for the Republic
X Remer, Sam
X Jacobs, Paul

Mr. H. J. Gibbons
Ex. Assist. to the General President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Hal:

By this time you've received some copies of Clark Kerr's pamphlet and I have put you on the Fund mailing list so that you will receive whatever material comes out in the future.

Sam Remer writes me that he has heard directly from you concerning the forthcoming cooperation of the Teamsters in our study of trade union government. I want to thank you for this, and please thank Jimmy as well. The next time I am in Washington I'll give you a ring and perhaps we'll have time for a drink.

Best regards,

Paul

Paul Jacobs
2018 Valantine Street
Los Angeles 26, California

FJ:en

Board of Directors

The Fund for the Republic

Elmer Rogers, Chairman
George N. Shuster
Vice-Chairman
Harry S. Ashmore
Bruce Catton

Staff

Charles W. Cole
Rusell L. Deamant
Erwin N. Grosswald
Oscar H. Hammerstein, II
Paul G. Hoffman
Robert M. Hutchins
William L. Joyce, Jr.
Meyer K. Rothbaum
Henry Finney Van Dusen

MEMORANDUM

February 13, 1958

Dear Hal:

Sam Rorer requested that I
send you several copies of
Clark Kerr's pamphlet, "Unions
and Union Leaders of their own
Choosing" which I have done
under separate cover.

Paul

Paul Jacobs

File

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR
Evening
and
THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

February 10 1958

Mr. H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President
Intl Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.,
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Thank you very much for your letter of Feb. 6.

I have asked the fund office to forward to you several copies of the Kerr pamphlet. I found it interesting and provocative although I'm still old-fashioned enough to worry about some of the implications therein. Did you see Clyde Summers piece on the same subject in the current New Leader?

I am enclosing tear-sheets of a piece I did for yesterday's Sunday Tribune on the monitoring.

As ever,

Cordially yours,

Sam
Sam Home.

not returned for J. Kelly

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fund for the Republic
Romir, Sam
X Jacobs, Paul

February 6, 1958

Mr. Sam Romer
Minneapolis Star
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Sam:

Jim has asked me to write you in answer to your communication of the 27th in which you talk of your work with the Fund for the Republic. In addition to your letter Jim also received a communication from Paul Jacobs on pretty much the same subject. He wants you to know that he will be happy to cooperate with you in your study of our Union.

Sincerely yours,

H. J. Gibbons,
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yk

P. S. I wonder if you could forward me one or two copies of Clark Kerr's pamphlet.

C O P Y

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR
Evening
AND
THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

January 27 1958

*Copy to
Colloper*

Mr. James R. Hoffa, President,
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.,
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear President Hoffa:

The formal title is my form of congratulations to you on your taking the office to which you were elected. I need not tell you that you have my best wishes for success in achieving the highest degree of economic freedom and security for your members.

I am also writing to tell you that (in a mild way) I have turned toward academic as well as journalistic pursuits. That is, I have agreed to participate in a trade union project sponsored by the Fund for the Republic which proposes to examine the problems of union government. I have been asked to serve the project as the author of a study of the Teamsters.

I agreed, of course, principally because of my long-standing interest in the Teamsters and yourself -- I regard both the union and your own leadership as keys to the future development and accomplishments of the entire American labor movement. I should add, in all frankness, that the fact that there is a comfortable chunk of dough involved didn't deter me.

I am not sure how much you have been told of this project and its aims. As I understand it, it is intended as a searching and thorough study of the actual functioning of trade union government and constitutional procedures. In its way, such a study which has been long past due is a recognition of "labor's coming of age."

Most of the other participants in the study project are college professors; I am not sure why they picked a newspaperman to join their ranks except that I am a little flattered. In any case, I think I should say that I do not intend to use this project for journalistic purposes, that is, although I will continue to work on the Tribune, I expect to limit my work in the project to a straight academic approach to the issues.

I shall, of course, be asking persons like yourself and Harold Gibbons for help before I am through; I am sure that you will. This may not be for some time because I expect to spend the next few months learning a little more than I now know about the union's history. I am sending a copy of this letter to Hal for his information.

I am looking forward to seeing you again. Until then, with all best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Sam
Sam Homer

Consultants on the Basic Issues:

A. A. Berle, Jr.
Scott Buchanan

Eugene Burdick
Eric F. Goldman
Clark Kerr
Henry R. Luce

John Courtney Murray, S.J.
Reinhold Niebuhr
Isidor I. Rabi
Robert Redfield

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC • BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM

Trade Union Project
Research Advisory Committee

February 1, 1958

Clark Kerr,
Chairman
Benjamin Aaron
S. M. Lipset
Walter Galenson
Norman Jacobson
Philip Selznick
W. W. W. Werts
Paul Jacobs,
Staff Administrator

Mr. James Hoffa, President
International Brotherhood
of Teamsters
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

I tried to reach you a couple of times by phone, without success, in the past few weeks. However, I'm sure we'll be able to handle this matter by letter just as well.

Perhaps you recall that when we were flying to Detroit a few months ago, I discussed with you one of the studies that the Fund Trade Union Project was going to undertake which involved the Teamsters. This was the comparative analysis of the national union governments of the Teamsters, Steel Workers, Carpenters, Auto Workers, Machinists, Oil Workers, a white collar union, and perhaps a railroad union. Well, we're now ready to go ahead, and we held a meeting of the entire staff which will do the work on this project last week in Cambridge. We've asked Sam Rorer to do the study of the Teamsters, and he'll be getting in touch with you directly very soon. Most of the other people doing the studies are on the staffs of universities, although many of them come from the labor movement itself. Perhaps you might remember Lloyd Ulman, who met you when you addressed Slichter's class at Harvard. He's going to do the study of the Mine Workers, which I forgot to mention before.

I am enclosing a copy of Clark Kerr's pamphlet, which we've published as the first in our series. The Berle pamphlet on the corporation is also an extremely interesting one.

I'm sure we'll run into each other again fairly soon, either in a hotel or a plane. Until then,

Paul

Board of Directors
The Fund for the Republic

Elmo Roper, Chairman
George N. Shuster
Vice-Chairman
Harry S. Ashmore
Bruce Catton

Charles W. Cole
Russell L. Dearmont
Erwin N. Griswold
Oscar Hammerstein, II
Paul G. Hoffman
Robert M. Hutchins
William H. Joyce, Jr.
Meyer Kestelbaum

Miss Frances J. Lally
Herbert H. Lehman
M. Albert Linton
J. Howard Marshall
Johal R. Parzen
Abner Patterson
Eleanor B. Stevenson
Henry Pitney Van Dusen

PJ:cn
encl.